AN ESSAY

ON THE

ORIGIN AND PURITY

OF THE

PRIMITIVE CHURCH

OF THE

British Isles,

AND

ITS INDEPENDENCE UPON

THE CHURCH OF ROME.

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——————— SERVETUR AD IMUM,
QUALIS AB INCŒPTO PROCESSERIT.

" May it be preserved to the end,
As it set out from the beginning!"

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1819.

TO

FRANCIS MASERES, Esq.

CURSITOR BARON OF THE EXCHEQUER,

LEARNED HIMSELF,

AND A PATRON OF LITERATURE;

This Essay,

WRITTEN ON HIS RECOMMENDATION,

AND PUBLISHED AT HIS EXPENSE,

IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS OBLIGED

AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

WILLIAM HALES.

PREFACE.

THE following is a sketch of the plan of this Publication. In the INTRODUCTION, is detailed circumstantially that artful and refined system of policy, by adhering to which, under a succession of able, ambitious, and persevering Pontiffs, the Church of *Rome* was at length enabled to domineer over her Sister Churches in the west of *Europe*, and to establish her usurped supremacy over them for many ages, till the blessed *Reformation*, which emancipated the *Protestant* Churches from her despotic dominion.

In the ESSAY itself, the primitive Churches of the *British Isles* are considered as composing the integral parts of one *National* Church; and that Church a venerable branch of the *Holy Catholic and Apostolic*

Church, renowned for the purity and simplicity of its Faith and Discipline. Acts. ii. 42.

Rejecting *unfounded traditions*, in the first Section, the knowledge of Christianity is shewn, in the second, to have been introduced into *Britain* about A.D. 57, by *Bran*, the father of *Caractacus*, and his associates, who had been converted to the Christian faith, during a seven years' residence at Rome, as a hostage for his son's fidelity, when liberated, and restored to his kingdom in Britain, by the emperor *Claudius*, A.D. 50. *Bran* was probably converted by *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, St. Paul's fellow-labourers in the Gospel, who were then resident at *Rome*, and formed a Church there. (Rom. xvi. 3—5.) The *British* Church appears to have been established in the reign of *Lles*, or *Lucius*, the great grandson of *Caractacus*, about A.D. 177.

The knowledge of Christianity is shewn, in the third Section, to have been introduced into *Ireland* also, by means of a noble Irishman, surnamed *Mansuetus;* who is said to have been converted by St. Peter;

and afterwards sent by him to preach the Gospel in *Gaul*, where he was appointed the first bishop of *Toul* in *Lorraine;* and is celebrated also for having planted Christianity in his native country, by his historians, *Adso*, &c. If St. *Peter* preached in *Spain*, as is probable, in St. *Paul*'s stead, about A.D. 64; he might there easily have met *Mansuetus*, either as a traveller, or a trader, from *Ireland*. The *Irish* nation, however, were not fully converted from paganism to Christianity until the days of their illustrious apostle St. *Patrick*, about A.D. 432. He was a *north Briton*, born near *Dunbarton*. And the Irish saints of his school, *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Colum-kille*, those venerable missionaries, amply repaid the inestimable benefit, by planting the Gospel, in turn, among the *Caledonians*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*.

The intimate union and connexion of the *British* and *Irish* Churches, and the purity and simplicity of their doctrines and discipline, and their joint and strenuous opposition from the earliest times, to the innovations and encroachments of the *modern*

Church of Rome, down to the present day; are detailed in the third, fourth, and sixth Sections.

In the fifth Section, are recorded the precautionary measures of ecclesiastical regulation, adopted by *foreign* states, to counteract the usurped supremacy of the Church and Court of Rome, in holding intercourse with their Roman Catholic subjects. In this article, two valuable documents have been carefully consulted and abridged. 1.—*The Report of a Committee of the House of Commons*, folio, 1817; which furnishes a curious and authentic mass of information on the subject: And, 2.—*A Correspondence* between the Courts of *Rome* and *Baden*, in the year 1817; relative to the election of Baron *Wessenberg*, by the Chapter of *Constance*, to be Vicar Capitular of that See, on the demise of the former Bishop, which was approved by the Grand Duke of Baden, the sovereign, but arbitrarily rejected by His Holiness, *Pius* VII.; in consequence of which, His Royal Highness published a dignified *Memorial* to the German Powers, stating the Papal encroachments, both on

the rights and privileges of the Secular Princes, and on the liberties and immunities of the Catholic Church in Germany, May 17, 1818.

The APPENDIX to the Essay contains some curious and interesting articles of *antiquarian* information.

The first is designed to shew, that *Ireland* was better known than *Britain*, to the early navigators and traders of *Phœnicia, Carthage, Greece,* and *Spain;* and to amend, and modernize, *Ptolomy's ancient Geography of Ireland,* about A.D. 150, by correcting mistakes, and annexing the modern names of places, in the Map of Ireland published by *Bertius,* and republished by Dr. *O'Conor* in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores veteres,* Vol. I. quarto, 1813.

The second is intended to explain the origin and design of the ancient *Round Towers of Ireland,* from their resemblance to the *Round Pillars of Palestine,* which were erected in honour of the *Baals,* the *Sun* and *Moon,* the earliest species of Idolatry, (Job xxxi. 26—28. Deut. iv. 19.) and

to shew, that the Catacombs under the latter, were principally intended for sepulchres of their sacred animals, the *Bull*, the *Crocodile*, &c.

The third contains an improved edition of *St. Patrick's Confession*, or *Epistle to the Irish;* written in Latin, not long before his decease, and republished by that eminent Irish scholar Dr. *O'Conor*, from two of the oldest Irish MSS.—the *Cottonian* of 800 years standing, and the *Armagh* of 1000.

The fourth contains also an improved edition of *Fiech's Irish Poem*, or *Panegyric on St. Patrick*, written soon after his death, and republished also by Dr. *O'Conor, ibid.* from the old *Donegal* MS., with a New Latin Version. From his Version, chiefly, is given a New English Translation; with Notes, explanatory of obscurities and difficulties, by the help of *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, Vol. VI. and other Irish documents.

The fifth gives an account of some *Antique Medals* of our Blessed Saviour, both Silver and Brass, found in the *British Isles*, whose age and authenticity is examined.

May the mass of evidence adduced in this Essay, from original and authentic sources, to prove the *purity* and *simplicity* of the *Primitive Religion*, and *independence* of the *Ecclesiastical Regimen* of the *British Isles*, contribute, with the Divine Blessing, to bring back these "*lost sheep*, who have erred" from the good old way, and "*strayed*" into the deceitful and dangerous paths of *Popery*; so that with "the *remnant* that is left" of the *Reformed* Church, we may quickly become, *one fold under one Shepherd*, JESUS CHRIST THE RIGHTEOUS, *the true Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls*.

Killesandra,
13th April, 1819.

CONTENTS.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

PTOLOMY'S MAP OF IRELAND *to face Page* 3 *of the* APPENDIX.

ROUND TOWERS IN IRELAND *to face Page* 38 *of the* APPENDIX.

ANTIQUE MEDALS *to face Page* 113 *of the* APPENDIX.

ON THE ORIGIN

OF THE

Primitive British and Irish Churches.

INTRODUCTION.

THE several *primitive Churches* planted by the Apostles, throughout the world, were originally *independent* of each other, and governed by their own respective Ecclesiastical Constitutions This was the natural and necessary result of the *equality* that subsisted between the Apostles themselves; none of whom had any jurisdiction over the rest. Hence, the Apostles of the *circumcision*, or of the *Jews*, and the Apostles of the *uncircumcision*, or of the *Gentiles*, had all their separate provinces or districts, within the sphere of which they preached, without "*building upon another's foundation*," or encroaching upon the Churches founded by others. Gal. ii. 7; Rom. xi. 13; xv. 20. And accordingly, we learn from Scripture and Ecclesiastical History, that *Peter* preached to the *Jews* of the *Dispersion* in *Pontus*, &c.; *Matthew*, in *Palestine*; *Theudas*, or *Jude*, in *Persia*; *Thomas*, in *India*; *Paul*, in *Asia Minor*, *Greece*, and *Rome*, &c. &c.

And the four first and purest of the *General Councils* of *Nice*, A. D. 325; of *Constantinople*, A. D 381; of *Ephesus*, A. D. 431; and of *Chalcedon*, A. D. 451, recognized, and confirmed this equality and independence of the Original Churches; only allowing to the Church of *Rome*, as the ancient Imperial City, a precedence of rank, as *prima inter pares*, "first among equals," but not of jurisdiction.

But the Church of *Rome* was naturally *high-minded*, or aspiring, from the very beginning; Rom. xi. 20, and soon began to encroach on the rights and liberties of the Sister-Churches, and to domineer over their Prelates. Hence, in the first Controversy of importance, A. D. 255, about *Re-baptizing Heretics after their Conversion to the Faith*; for the propriety of which, the *Asiatic* and *African* Bishops contended, in opposition to *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*; after he had branded *Cyprian*, Bishop of Carthage, with the epithet of "*False Christ*," *False Prophet*, and *Deceitful Worker*, &c. *Cyprian* replied in the following truly Christian strain, accompanying the protest of a Synod of 87 *African* Bishops against *Stephen's* arbitrary proceedings *.

*Hæc ad conscientiam tuam, *Frater* charissime, et pro honore communi, et pro simplici delectione pertulimus; credentes etiam tibi, pro religionis tuæ et fidei veritate, placere quæ et religiosa pariter et vera sunt Cœterùm, scimus *quosdam*, quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propo-

"These considerations, Dearest *Brother*, we offer to your conscience, both from public respect and private affection: believing (such we presume is the truth of your Religion and Faith) that what is equally religious and true, is also pleasing to you. But *some* there are, we know, who are not easily brought to relinquish what they have once imbibed, or change their purpose; but *(saving the bond of peace and concord, between colleagues)* still retain some *peculiarities* which they have once adopted. In which matter, neither do *we* offer violence to any one, nor impose law; since *every Prelate* should have the use of his own *free will* in the administration of the Church; being accountable for his conduct [only] to THE LORD."

Such mild expostulations, however, had but little weight with the turbulent *Stephen*, and his Successors. They watched all opportunities of aggrandisement; and under a succession of artful and enterprizing Pontiffs, acting by a refined and systematic, and undeviating course of policy, the See of *Rome*, from small beginnings,

situm suum facilè mutare, sed *(salvo inter collegas pacis et concordiæ vinculo)* quædam *propria* quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere. Quâ in re, nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus; quando habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione, voluntatis suæ *liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus*, rationem actûs sui DOMINO redditurus.

Vid. Cyprian Epist. 72. Edit. Rigalt, Paris.

realized Daniel's "*little horn*," which sprouted in the last stage of the Roman empire, "with *eyes* like a man," in the character of a *Seer*, *Overseer* or *Bishop*; and a *mouth* speaking great things, fulminations or blasphemies,"—"whose *look* was more stout than his fellows," the other bishops, Dan. vii. 8, 20, at length attained to a pitch of *political supremacy*, both *ecclesiastical* and *temporal*, conferred by the *old Dragon*; at which, "*all the world wondered*," Rev. xiii. 2, 3.

And such was her overweening pride and arrogance, that at length, that last and most degenerate of the general Councils, the Council of *Trent*, after five-and-twenty Sessions, beginning A.D. 1549, and ending A.D. 1563, and acting, all along, under the Pope's controul and direction, finally established the *modern Church of Rome*, upon its present basis; and sanctioned a *confession* of *Faith*, by Pope *Pius* IV. drawn-up chiefly for the use of the *Clergy*, but extended to the *Laity*, also, requiring "the *Roman* Church to be acknowledged, as THE HOLY, CATHOLIC, and Apostolic CHURCH; the *Mother* and *Mistress* of all Churches:" and the *Roman Pontiff* to be obeyed as the *successor* of St. *Peter*, Prince of the Apostles; and the *Vicar* of JESUS CHRIST *."

*Sanctam, Catholicam, et Apostolicam, Romanam Ecclesiam, omnium Ecclesiarum Matrem et Magistram, cognosco; Romanóque Pontifici, B. Petri, Apostolorum principis, successori, et Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo et Juro.

These exorbitant and unchristian claims of the Church and See of Rome, have been, over and over again, refuted by the Learned of the *Reformed Churches* of Europe; and by none more ably, or successfully, than by the *Protestant* Divines of Great-Britain and Ireland. Still they are repeatedly urged by our *Popish* opponents, *Milner* and *Troy*, *Gandolphy* and *De la Hogue*, &c. &c. and therefore require to be as repeatedly answered, in this interminable and never-to-be-abandoned Controversy, as it is justly styled, by one of our most zealous and powerful Champions, the Editor of the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE; which is nicknamed by Mr. *Gandolphy* and his associates, "*The Devil's Advocate* * !" And, strange to tell! *Popery*, (though prostrate, and well nigh expiring, on the *Continent* of Europe,) still rears her head aloft in the *British Isles*, and once more threatens the overthrow of the PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT in Church and State, which she has often attempted before!! And the present hoary and wily Pontiff, *Pius* VII. though "fallen, fallen, fallen from his high estate," and, like a meteor, shorn of his rays,

—See the Oath at large, in *Hales's Letters to Doctor Troy*, &c.; or *Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, p. 122.

* See Letters to the Rev. *P. Gandolphy*, in the *Protestant Advocate*, May, 1815, p. 357.

does not relax one jot, or one tittle, of the loftiest pretensions of his predecessors, in the zenith of their power: In defiance of all the Sovereign Powers of Europe, he has had the hardihood, lately, to revive the *Inquisition*, and the Order of the *Jesuits*, though formally suppressed by a foregoing Pontiff, those tremendous *firebrands* of the See of *Rome*!!!

Wishing, therefore, to expose these unwarrantable claims more clearly and concisely, than I have hitherto seen it done, for the *information* of *Protestants*, (both in, and out of, *Parliament*,) unacquainted with this *vital* Controversy, and to guard them from delusion, and prevent them from blindly surrendering the main barriers of the Constitution, to the audacious reiteration of "*Catholic Claims*," perpetually returning to the charge, though repulsed ever so often; and for the *reformation* of such ingenuous *Roman-Catholics* as *dare* to think for themselves, and examine the grounds of their *profession of faith*; I shall attempt to analyze these grounds in this *Introduction*; and then shall proceed, in the *Essay* itself, to prove the true origin of *the primitive British* and *Irish* Churches, and their total independence on the See of Rome; in order to rouze, if possible, their *degenerate* posterity of the *Popish* persuasion, to *emancipate* themselves from their spiritual bondage, and to re-assert their ancient liberty and independence.

I. "The *Roman* Church" is NOT "THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH" of the *Apostles* Creed, nor "THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH" of the *Nicene*.

The word *Catholic* signifies *Universal;* but for any *particular* Church to call itself *the whole*, is a grammatical solecism, and a downright absurdity. The best refutation I have any where seen of it, is furnished by an authority that must be decisive with Roman-Catholics, even the *infallible* authority of *Gregory* the Great himself, both Pope and Saint; in his celebrated letter of censure to his brother *John*, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, for assuming the synonymous title of *Ecumenicus*, or "*Universal.*"

"Certainly *Peter*, the Apostle, is the *first* member of the Church; our *Paul*, *Andrew*, *John*, what else are they than heads of particular congregations? And yet they *all* are members of THE CHURCH under one head [CHRIST]. And, to comprize the whole in a short compass of expression,—the Saints *before the Law*, the Saints *under the Law*, and the Saints *under Grace*, all these, composing the body of THE LORD, are appointed members of the Church. But none of them ever wished to call himself *Universal* *."

* Certè *Petrus*, Apostolus, primum membrum sanctæ et universalis Ecclesiæ est: *Paulus*, *Andreas*, *Johannes*, quid aliud quàm singularium sunt plebium capita? Et tamen sub uno capite, omnes sunt membra Ecclesiæ. Atque, ut cuncta brevi cingulo locutionis astringam, Sancti ante legem, Sancti

In this admirable and enlarged definition of the *Catholic Church*, *Gregory* justly included the *Patriarchal*, *Mosaical*, and *Christian* Churches, comprehending the whole corporate body of the Saints or of the Faithful, from the beginning to the end of the world. And, in this sense, the word *Church* is frequently used in the New Testament, Heb. xii. 23; Acts vii. 38; Col. i. 18; Matt. xvi. 18, &c. &c.

By a similar absurdity, *the particular* Apostolic Church of Rome claims to be *the general* Apostolic Church, founded by *all* the Apostles; excluding *all* her *sister Churches* from any share in the title!

II. "The *Roman* Church, is NOT the *Mother* and *Mistress* of *all* Churches."

"*The Mother of us all*, was the original Church of *Jerusalem*," Gal. iv. 26, which was founded on the memorable day of *Pentecost*, or *Whitsunday*, A.D. 31, by the conversion of 3000 prejudiced *Jews* to the Christian Faith; and afterwards rapidly encreased: for "THE LORD added daily to *the Church*, such as were desirous to be saved." Acts ii. &c.

sub lege, Sancti sub gratiâ, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini, in membris sunt Ecclesiæ constituti; et nemo se unquam *universalem* vocare voluit. See the whole letter, in the earlier editions of St Gregory's works, Basil, 1564, or Antwerp, 1615, or in *Hales' Observations on the Pope's Supremacy*, 1787, p. 12, Appendix

The *mother* of the *Gentile* Churches especially, was the Church of *Antioch*, *founded* by *Barnabas* and *Paul*, about A. D. 43; when the converts, (before called "*Nazarenes*," in contempt.) were first honoured with the title of "*Christians*." Acts xi. 26; xxiv. 5. This Church was jointly *established* by *Peter* also, when he went thither, after his miraculous deliverance from prison in the second Jewish persecution raised by *Herod Agrippa*, A. D. 44; Acts xii. 1—17. But this Church of *Antioch* was founded and established long before either *Peter* or *Paul* visited *Rome*.

Nor is the *Roman*, the *mistress* of *any* of the Churches.

This is evident from what was said of the independence of all the primitive Churches on each other; as ratified by the first four General Councils, which "*Gregory* the Great professed to reverence as the *four Gospels*."

III. The *Roman* Church was NOT *founded* by St. *Peter*.

Among the *first fruits* of the *Mother-Church* of *Jerusalem*, we read of οἱ επιδημεντες Ρωμαιοι, "*the Roman sojourners*, or *Jews*, residing at *Rome*. Acts. ii. 10. These, we may presume, on their return home, formed the embryo of the Roman Church. Of this Church were *Aquila* and his wife *Priscilla*, Jews of *Pontus*, settled at *Rome*, and expelled from thence, with "*all*

the Jews," for insurrection, by the emperor *Claudius*, Acts xviii 1, 2, about the ninth year of his reign, A. D. 49, according to *Orosius*. *Aquila* and *Priscilla* associated themselves with *Paul* in planting the Gospel in *Macedonia* and *Greece*, 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Acts xviii. 5—11, and accompanied him to *Syria*, where they converted *Apollos*, Acts xviii. 18—26. They afterwards returned to *Rome*, before *Paul* wrote his Epistle to the Romans, A. D. 58; at which time, there appears to have been a numerous and respectable *Church*, or congregation of Christians there, of which *Priscilla* and *Aquila* seem to have been the head; as we may collect from the Apostle's salutations to the *Roman* Saints, at the end of the Epistle; among which this is the first and most strongly marked;

"Salute *Priscilla** and *Aquila*, my fellow-labourers in Christ Jesus, (who laid-down their own necks for my life; to whom not only *I*, but *all the Churches of the Gentiles*, give thanks) and *the Church* in their House." Rom. xvi. 3—5.

This early *Roman* Church was principally composed of Gentiles; for, though "*Mary, Herodian*, and the household of *Aristobulus*, were

* *Priscilla* is ranked before her husband, probably on account of her greater success in making converts, among the Roman *women* especially.

Jews;" the rest, "*Epænetus, Andronicus, Amplias, Stachys, Apelles*, the household of *Narcissus*. *Tryphæna*, and *Tryphosa*, *Asyncritus*, *Hermas*, *Patrobas*, *Hermes*, *Philologus*, *Nereus*, *Olympas*" were evidently Greeks from their names; and "*Urbanus*, *Rufus*, *Junia*, and *Julia*," Romans, ver. 5—15. *Narcissus* was probably the favourite freedman and secretary of the emperor *Claudius*; and if so, we may infer that Christianity gained a footing among the most respectable families in Rome, some years before St. *Paul's* visit.

Scripture is silent respecting St. *Peter's* visit to Rome. And hence principally, some eminent writers, *Salmasius*, *Spanheim*, &c. have maintained that St. *Peter was never at Rome*; and they have been followed by several respectable writers in the *Romish* controversy, endeavouring to prove from thence, the *fabulous foundation of the Popedom*, as built on St. *Peter's* primacy; and one of the best and latest, Professor *Marsh*, in his excellent *Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, 1814, has adopted the same opinion, and adduced some arguments to support it, p. 207—212.

But the defect of Scripture evidence is abundantly supplied by Ecclesiastical history, vouching the visit of St. *Peter* as well as of St. *Paul*, to Rome, and their martyrdom there. This will

appear from the following chain of historical testimonies *.

* The following are the original authorities :—

1. *Clemens Romanus.*

Αλλ' ἵνα των αρχαιων ὑποδεγματων παυσωμεθα, ελθωμεν επι τȣς εγγιςα γενομενȣς αθλητας· λαβωμεν της γενεας ἡμων τα γενναια ὑποδειγματα. Δια ζηλον και φθονον, εκκλησιας πιςοι και δικαιοτατοι ςυλοι εδιωχθησαν, και ἑως θανατȣ δεινȣ. Λαβωμεν προ οφθαλμων ἡμων τȣς αγαθȣς αποςολȣς. Πετρος δια ζηλον αδικον ȣχ ἑνα ȣδε δυο, αλλα πλειονας ὑπεμεινεν πονȣς, και ὁτω μαρτυρησας επορευθη εις τον οφειλομενον τοπον της δοξης. Δια ζηλον ὁ Παυλος ὑπομονης βραβειον απεχεν, ἑπτακις δεσμα φορεσας, ραβδευθεις, λιθαθεις, κηρυξ γενομενος εν τε τῃ ανατολῃ και εν τῃ δυσει, το γενναιον της πιςεως αυτȣ κλεος ελαβεν, δικαιοσυνην διδαξας ὁλον τον κοσμον, και επι το περμα της δυσεως ελθων, και μαρτυρησας επι των ἡγȣμενων, ὁτως απηλλαγη τȣ κοσμȣ, και εις τον ἁγιον τοπον επορευθη, ὑπυμονης γενομενος μεγιςος ὑπογραμμος. Epist. I. ad Corinthios, § 5. Cotelirius Patris Apostol. Vol. I. p. 148.

2. *Dionysius*, Bishop of Corinth.

Ὡς δε κατα τον αυτον χρονον αμφω εμαρτυρησαν κορινθιων επισκοπος Διονυσιος εγγραφως Ρωμαισις ομιλων, ὡδε πως παριςησιν. Ταυτα και ὑμεις δια της τοσαυτης νȣθεσιας, την απο Πετρȣ και Παυλȣ φυτειαν γεννηθεισαν Ρωμαιων τε και Κορινθιων συνεκεκρασατε· και γαρ αμφω και εις την ἡμετεραν Κορινθον φυτευσαντες ἡμας, ὁμοιως εδιδαξαν· ὁμοιως δε και εις την Ιταλιαν ὁμοσε διδαξαντες, εμαρτυρησαν κατα τον αυτον καιρον. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. ii. Cap. 25, p. 68.

3. *Irenæus*, Bishop of Lyons.

Τȣ Πετρȣ και τȣ Παυλȣ εν Ρωμῃ ευαγγελιζομενων και θεμελιȣντων την εκκλησιαν—Θεμελιωσαντες ȣν και οικοδομησαντες οἱ μακαρεις αποςολοι την εκκλπσιαν, Λινω την της επισκοπης λειτȣργιαν ενεχειρησαν. Pearson de annis primo-

1. *Clemens Romanus*, the intimate friend of both these Apostles, of whom *Paul* makes ho-

rum Romæ Episcoporum, Cap. 2; or, Bishop Burgess's first Letter to his Clergy, p. 10.

4. *Tertullian*, of Carthage.

Ista quam felix Ecclesia! cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine profuderunt; ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur; ubi Paulus Johannis exitu Coronatur De Præscrip Hæres. c. 36, p. 245; or Lardner, Vol. ii. p. 268.

5. *Caius*, a Roman Presbyter.

Εγω δε τα τροπαια των αποςολων εχω δειξαι· εαν γαρ θελησης απελθειν επι τον Βατικανον, η επι την ὁδον την Ωςιαν, ἑυρησεις τα τροπαια των ταυτην ἱδρυσαμενων την εκκλησιαν. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. 25, p. 67.

6. *Origen*.

Πετρος δε εν Ποντω—κεκηρυκεναι τοις εν διασπορα ιεδαιοις εοικεν. Ὁς και επι τελει εν Ρωμη γενομενος, ανεςκολοπισθη κατα κεφαλης, ὁτως αυτος αξιωσας παθειν. Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. cap. 1, or Lardner, vol. vi. p. 541.

7. *Lactantius*.

Cúmque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis miraculis —— convertit multos ad justitiam, Deóque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ —— et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit; De morte Persect. Cap. ii. or Lardner, vi. p. 541.

8. *Eusebius*, Bishop of Cæsaria.

Πετρος ο κορυφαιος, την εν Αντιοχεία πρωτην θεμελιωσας εκκλησιαν, εις Ρωμην απεισι κηρυτΐων το ευαγγελιον. Euseb. Chron. Can. p. 204, or Lardner, vi. p. 544.

9. *Ephrem*, the Syrian.

Quia similiter Apostoli provincias sortiti sunt, Simon Romum docuit, Johannes Ephesum, Matthæus Palestinam, et

nourable mention (Phil. iv. 3.) furnishes the following panegyric on both.

Indorum regiones Thomas. Vol. i. p. 453, or Lardner, iv. p. 437.

10. *Jerom.*

Simon Petrus —— princeps Apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochensis Ecclesiæ, et prædicationem dispersionis eorum qui de circumcisione crediderant, in Ponto —— secundo Claudii imperatoris Anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum Romam pergit. Lardner, vi p. 544.

Paulus —— post passionem Dominicam vicessimo et quinto anno, id est, secundo Neronis, eo tempore quo Festus procurator Judææ successit Felici, Romam vinctus mittitur; et biennium in liberâ manens custodiâ, adversùs Judæos de adventu Christi quotidiè disputavit —— Hic ergò, decimo quarto Neronis anno, eodem die quo Petrus, Romæ pro Christo capite truncatus; sepultúsque est in viâ Ostiensi, anno post passionem Domini trigesimo septimo. Lardner, v. p. 45, 46 and vi. p. 544.

11. *Chrysostom.*

Ἐν γαρ και τȣτο πλεονεκτημα της ἡμετερας πολεως το των αποςολων κορυφαιον λαβειν εν αρχη διδασκ λον.— Αλλα——ȣκ εις τελος κατεχομεν, αλλα παρεχωρησαμεν τη βασιλιδι Ρωμη. Vol. iii. p. 70, or Lardner, vi. p. 544.

12. *Theodoret.* Lardner, v. p. 201.

13. *Isidore.* Lardner, v. p. 309.

14 *Nicephorus.*

Οἱ εν Ρωμη επισκοπευσαντες απο Χριςȣ και των αποςολων ὁ Πετρος αποςολος, ετη δυο.

In Nicephori Chronographiâ legimus—" Qui episcopatum gesserunt à Christo et Apostolis. Petrus Apostolus, annis duobus." Quibus consequens est, Petrum, biennium circitèr ante mortem, iter in urbem direxisse. Secùs diutur-

"Omitting ancient examples of noble *wrestlers for the faith,* let us proceed to modern examples, in our own age; to those faithful and most upright *pillars of the Church,* who, through [unjust] zeal and envy, underwent persecution, even to a cruel death. Let us place before our eyes the *good Apostles: Peter,* through unjust zeal, endured not one nor two, but many labours, and then, having suffered martyrdom, went to *his* merited *place* of glory. *Paul* likewise, through [unjust] zeal, bore-away the prize of patience: after he had borne chains seven times, been scourged, and stoned, and had been a preacher [of the Gospel] both in the *East* and in the *West,* he obtained the glorious reward of his faith; for, after *he had taught the whole world righteousness,* and *had gone to the termination of the West,* and *had suffered martyrdom by the Rulers,* he was thus re-

niorem ei episcopalum vindicâssit Nicephorus. Basnage, Anon. 42, num. 10. Lardner, vi. p. 543.

15. *Simeon Metaphrastes.*

Επιμεινας τε, (Scil. Petrus,) εν Βρετανιᾳ ἡμερας τινας, και πολλοις τω λογω φωτισας της χαριτος, εκκλησιας τε συστησαμενος, επισκοπος τε, και πρεσβευτερος, και διακονος χειροτονησας, δωδεκατω ετει τ᾽ Καισαρος Νερωνος, αυθις εις Ρωμην παραγινεται· ενθα και τον Λινον τελειωθεντα ἐυρηκως τον Κλημεντα αυτν αυτ᾽ κεχειροτονηκεν απαναινομενον και την προσασιαν παραιτουμενον——οἳ ὃν ςρατιωται παραχρημα παντας (Christianos) συλλαβομενοι επι την των καταδικων αγουσι τοπον, και τ᾽ μεν Κλημεντος, ως συγγενης τ᾽ Καισαρος, φειδονται. Cotiler, Patres, Apost. vol. i. p. 148, not. 39.

leased from the world, and went to *the holy place*, becoming the greatest pattern of *patience*."

Here *Clemens* speaks of the martyrdom of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* as an acknowledged fact, but without stating *where*; this, however, appears from the expression "*the Rulers*," to have happened at *Rome*, the mistress of the Western world; as fully attested by the succeeding witnesses.

2. *Dionysius*, Bishop of Corinth, A.D. 170, in his epistle to the Romans, writes thus: "You have joined together the plantation of the *Roman* and *Corinthian* (Churches) made by *Peter* and *Paul*. For they both, coming to our city of Corinth, planted and taught us, (1 Cor. iii, 6--22) and in like manner, going together to *Italy*, they taught and suffered martyrdom there, about the same time."

Here *Dionysius*, perhaps from a motive of delicacy, in addressing the Romans, only mentions *Italy*, as the scene of martyrdom, it being unnecessary to point-out to them the precise place. But this is supplied by,

3. *Irenæus*, Bishop of Lyons, A D. 178, who relates, that "the blessed aposties, *Peter* and *Paul*, having preached the Gospel at Rome, and founded the Church there, committed the administration of the episcopacy to *Linus*; who was succeeded by *Anacletus*, and he by *Clemens* who wrote an epistle to the Corinthians.

4. *Tertullian* of Carthage, the most learned of the Latin fathers, A.D. 200, thus celebrates the Church of *Rome:* "How happy is that Church, to which the Apostles delivered the whole Evangelical doctrine, along with their blood! where *Peter* suffered the same death with our Lord; and *Paul* was crowned with the death of *John* [the Baptist]."

5. *Caius*, a presbyter of the Church of Rome, A.D. 212, thus speaks of their tombs: "I am able to shew the trophies of the Apostles: for whether you go to the *Vatican*, or to the *Octian-way*, you will find the trophies of the establishers of this Church." N.B. *Peter* was buried in the Vatican; *Paul* in the Octian-way.

6. *Origen*, the most learned of the Greek fathers, A.D. 230, says, that "*Peter*, after having preached the Gospel to the *Jewish* converts of the Dispersion in *Pontus*, came at last to *Rome*, and was crucified there with his head downwards, for so he deemed himself worthy to suffer, [according to his adorable Master's prediction, John, xxi. 18, 19, to which he himself alluded, 2 Pet. i. 14]."

7. *Lactantius*, a Latin father of note, A. D. 306, says, that "*Peter* came to Rome, in the reign of *Nero*; wrought many miracles, and converted many to the Faith there; where *Nero*, first of all [the Roman Emperors] persecuted the Servants

of God: He crucified *Peter*, and slew *Paul* with the sword."

8. *Eusebius*, who was Bishop of Cæsaria, and a learned Ecclesiastical Historian, Antiquary, and Chronologer, A.D. 315, says, that "*Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, having founded the first [Gentile] Church at *Antioch*, went from thence to *Rome*, preaching the Gospel."

9. *Ephrem*, the *Syrian*, A.D. 370, says, that "the Apostles allotted to themselves distinct provinces; *Simon* [*Peter*] taught at *Rome*; *John* at Ephesus; *Matthew* in Palestine; and *Thomas* in the regions of India."

10. *Jerom*, (that Oracle of the Roman Church, who spent three years at Rome, as Secretary to Pope *Damasus*, A. D. 382—385,) writes, that *Simon Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, after his Episcopate of the Church of *Antioch*, and his preaching to the Faithful of the Circumcision dispersed in *Pontus*, proceeded to Rome in the second year of *Claudius*, (A. D. 41,) to oppose *Simon Magus*."—That "*Paul* was sent bound to *Rome*, when *Festus* (who succeeded *Felix*) was procurator of *Judea*, in the second year of *Nero*, (A.D. 55,) that is, the five-and-twentieth year after our Lord's Passion, (A. D. 31 + 24 = A D. 55.) And that in the fourteenth year of *Nero*, (A.D. 67,) being the seven-and-thirtieth year after the passion, (A.D. 31 + 36 = A.D. 67.)

Paul was beheaded at Rome for the name of Christ, on the same day with *Peter*, and was buried in the *Octian-way*." And elsewhere, *Jerom* says, "CHRIST was with *Thomas* in India; with *Peter* at Rome; with *Paul* in *Illyrium*; with *Titus* in *Crete*; with *Andrew* in *Achaia*."

11. *Chrysostom*, the celebrated bishop of *Constantinople*, A.D. 398, says, "This is one prerogative of our city [*Antioch*], that we had the Prince of the Apostles for our teacher, at first; for it was fit that the place which was first honoured with the name of *Christians*, should have the Prince of the Apostles for its pastor. But, though we had him for our teacher awhile, we did not retain him to the end; but resigned him to imperial *Rome*. Or rather, we have him still: for, though we have not his body, we have his faith."

12. *Theodoret*, a Syrian bishop, and Ecclesiastical writer, A.D. 423, says, that "*Nero* put to death two of the principal law-givers among the Christians, but was not able to extinguish their laws."

13. *Isidore*, bishop of Seville, in Spain, A.D. 596, says, in his Chronicle, "that the Apostle *Peter* went to Rome, in the reign of *Claudius*, to oppose *Simon Magus*." But he afterwards refers it, more correctly, to the reign of *Nero*, "by whose command, *Peter* was crucified, and *Paul* was beheaded."

14. *Nicephorus*, patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 806, relates in his Chronography, that "*Peter* was bishop of Rome for *two* years only."

15. *Simeon Metaphrastes*, a Monkish writer of the tenth Century, says, that "*Peter* spent some days in *Britain*, and enlightened many by the word of Grace, and having established Churches [in the West] and elected bishops, presbyters, and deacons, came again to *Rome* in the twelfth year of *Nero*, (A.D. 65,) where, having found that *Linus* was dead, he elected *Clemens* bishop in his room, who accepted the station with great reluctance, and was afterwards spared in the ensuing persecution, because he was a kinsman of *Nero*."

16. And this testimony of *Metaphrastes*, seems to be confirmed in part, by a remarkable inscription found in the village of *Marcasia*, in *Lusitania*, or *Portugal*, shewing that *Nero's* persecution of the Christians extended to that province.

NERONI CL. CAIS. AUG. PONT. MAX.
OB. PROVINC. LATRONIB. ET HIS QUI
NOV. GENFRI HUM. SUPERSTITON.
INCULCAB. PURGATAM.

"*To Nero, Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Chief Pontiff,*
For purging the province of Robbers,

And of [Christians] who inculcated
A new Superstition to the Human race."

See *Lardner*, vol. vii. p. 248; or *Hales's New Analysis* of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 1257.

17. And to crown this mass of external evidence in support of the *tradition*, St. Peter's first epistle seems to furnish internal evidence that it was written from *Rome*, under the mystical title of *Babylon*, 1 Pet. v. 13, for the following reasons:—

1. The Apostles allotted to themselves distinct provinces, as we have seen before; and the travels of *Peter* and *Paul* appear to have been limited to the *Roman* empire. There is no *early* evidence whatever in Ecclesiastical History, that *Peter* went beyond it, either to *Babylon* in *Mesopotamia*, or *Babylon* in Egypt. *Cosmas* of Alexandria, A.D. 535, states expressly, that the Apostle *Thaddæus*, or *Jude*, preached the Gospel in *Persia*. Lardner, v. p. 272. Hence, it was the prevailing opinion of the earlier Greek and Latin fathers, *Papias*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Tertullian*, *Œcumanius*, *Cosmas*, *Beda*, &c. that the word, *Babylon*, is used here by the Apostle, in a figurative sense, as denoting *Rome*, which so strongly resembled "*Babylon* the Great" in her *idolatries*, her *abominations*, and *persecutions* of the Saints. And this is corroborated by the usage of the *Apocalypse*, in which the mystical

application is unquestionable. St. *John*, either borrowing it from St. *Peter*; or rather both, by inspiration, from *Isaiah's* prophecy of the Ancient *Babylon*, xxi. 9, &c.; Rev. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xviii. 2, &c.

2. The bearer of St. *Peter's* epistle to *Pontus*, was "*Silvanus*, the faithful brother," 1 Pet. v. 12; but he was also the faithful associate of St. *Paul* in his Travels, 2 Cor. i. 19; 1 Thess. i. 1; called *Silas*, in Hebrew, Acts xv. 22—34—40; xvi. 19; xvii. 4; but שלש, signifies *Tertius* in Latin; under which name, as the amanuensis of St. *Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, he joined in the salutation to the Saints there; "I *Tertius*, salute you, who wrote this Epistle in the Lord." Rom. xvi. 22. He might, therefore, naturally be sent by these Apostles from Rome, shortly before their decease, to "Water," or confirm the Churches of *Asia Minor* and *Pontus*, which he had jointly contributed with them to "plant," or found. See some further Arguments in support of this interpretation of *Babylon*, in *Hales's New Analysis*, &c. vol. ii. p. 1145, &c.

But, though we are constrained by this accumulation of evidence, to admit, that St. *Peter* actually visited Rome, and suffered at Rome about the same time with St. *Paul*; yet we are fully warranted to deny the *fabulous* account of his Episcopate of *five-and-twenty* years duration, fabricated by *Jerom* and other partizans of the

See of Rome; they supposing that he went to *Rome,* in the second of *Claudius,* A.D. 41, and suffered martyrdom there, in the fourteenth of *Nero,* A.D. 67.

1. *Peter* could not have gone to *Rome* so early as A.D. 41: for he was then either at *Jerusalem,* or employed in visiting and confirming the Churches in the home-district of *Judea* and *Samaria,* Acts viii. 1; ix. 31—43; x. 1—48; xi. 18; until the Second Jewish Persecution, A.D. 44, when he went to *Antioch.*

2. From Antioch, he proceeded to visit the *Jews* of the dispersion in *Pontus;* and employed some years there, and in the adjacent districts, before he went to *Greece,* which he evidently visited; for he made Converts at *Corinth,* before St. *Paul's* first Epistle to the Corinthians was written, A.D. 57, Chap. i. 12; iii. 22.

3. *Peter* had not visited *Rome,* at the time that *Paul* wrote his Epistle to the Romans, A.D. 58. For, had *Peter* been already at Rome, there would not have been the same necessity for *Paul's* wish to visit them, and communicate to them "*some spiritual Gift,*" Rom. i. 11; nor would he have obtruded himself to build upon *another's foundation,* Rom. xv. 20; neither would he have omitted the mention of *Peter's* name in the Salutations addressed, at the end of the Epistle, to the principal members of the Church of *Rome,* if Peter had been there at that time.

4. *Peter* had not visited Rome before *Paul's* arrival there, about A. D. 62. This is evident, from his inviting the *Roman Jews* to a conference the third day after his arrival, who appear to have had no *official* information of the sect of the *Christians*, but that it was "*every where spoken against;*" Acts xxviii. 17, 20.

5. *Paul's* ill success, however, with the *Roman Jews*, which induced him, as he frankly told them, to "turn to *the Gentiles*," Acts xxviii. 28, rendered it necessary for *Peter* also to visit Rome. For *Peter* was in the highest estimation with the Jews in general, as the prime Apostle of the *circumcision*; whereas *Paul* was peculiarly offensive to them; for, after his conversion—they considered him as an *Apostate*; and therefore persecuted him every where, throughout the whole course of his ministry. And there seems to be a marked reference to *Paul's* co-operation, in *Peter's* salutation to τοις εκλεκτοις, "*the elected*" of the *dispersion*, from ἡ εν Βαβυλωνι συνεκλεκτη, "*the co-elected Church in Babylon*," or the *Gentile* Church at Rome; 1 Pet. i. 1; v. 13. We may date *Peter's* first visit to Rome, A. D. 63, in the second year of *Paul's* residence in that city, as will be shown afterwards.

6. It is highly probable, however, that *Peter* made no long stay at *Rome*, but that he proceeded westwards to fulfil his *beloved brother Paul's* intentions of visiting *Spain*, Rom. xv. 24;

which he was prevented from executing himself, after he wrote that epistle, by his subsequent confinements at *Cæsaria* and *Rome* of four or five years. The testimonies of *Clemens Romanus*, and also of *Irenæus*, that the Gospel was planted by the *Apostles* and their *disciples*, to the *ends of the Earth*, εν ταις Ιβεριαις, "in the *Iberias*," or *Spain* and *Portugal*; and εν τοις Κελτοις, "among the *Celts*" of *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, both concurring with *Metaphrastes* and the *Marcesian* inscription, noticed before, warrant the supposition that *Peter* visited the western part of the *Continent* of Europe, at least, (though not the *British Isles*) because it fell within the period of his travels during *Nero's* reign.

And *Peter's* short stay at Rome seems to be strongly confirmed by the silence of *Paul* respecting him, in his later Epistles from Rome, to the *Colossians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Hebrews*, *and Philemon*, written before he left it; and even in the Second Epistle to *Timothy*, written after his return to *Rome* from his *Syrian* expedition, and shortly before his decease, he says expressly, "only *Luke* is with me." Chap. iv. 9—11. *Peter's* return to *Rome*, therefore, from his western expedition, must have been *after* this epistle was written.

7. But it could not have been so late as A.D. 67, assigned by Jerom. For *Lactantius*, *Jerom* himself, *Theodoret*, and *Isidore*, all agree, as we

have seen, that he suffered under *Nero*; and *Tacitus* has fixed the date of *Nero's* persecution in the year A. D. 65. Annal. xv. 33, 34, which is the precise year in which *Metaphrastes* dates his martyrdom. *Nicephorus* also, as we have seen, reckoned that *Peter* was only two years bishop of Rome; and therefore he first came thither in A. D. 63, when he and *Paul*, jointly, might have appointed *Linus* the first bishop, according to *Irenæus*; and at the second visit, *Clemens Romanus*, according to *Metaphrastes*. And it is highly probable that the martyrdom of *Peter*, was occasioned by the success of his labours in planting the Gospel in the *western* provinces of the empire; of which success information might have been brought to *Nero* against him; as of *Paul*, for his similar success at *Rome*.

From this historical detail, it appears, 1. that *Peter* was no more than a *passenger* at Rome, and exercised only a transient and divided jurisdiction there; 2. that the *Roman* Church was not *founded* by either of the Apostles; and, 3. that it was jointly and principally *established* by *Paul*, who visited *Rome* before *Peter*, and resided longer there. And, consequently, that *Peter's* supposed Episcopate of *five-and-twenty* years is *fabulous*.

IV. Admitting that St. *Peter* was "*Prince* of the Apostles," he had no supremacy, or jurisdiction, over the rest.

He is indeed ranked "*first*" of the glorious company of the Apostles, in several passages of the New Testament, viz. Matt. x. 2; Luke vi. 4; viii. 5; ix. 28; Matt. xvii. 1; xxvi. 37; Mark v. 37; ix. 2; xiv. 33. An honourable precedence due to his distinguished zeal and attachment to his Master; and, especially, to that noble and explicit *profession of faith*, which he made, first of all the Apostles; and for which he received an appropriate blessing and reward from CHRIST. The whole may thus be more clearly rendered, and more critically explained. "JESUS ——— asked his disciples, Whom do *men* say that I am,—THE SON OF MAN? And they said, Some say that thou art *John the Baptist*, some *Elias*, and others *Jeremias*, or one of the *prophets*. He saith unto them, But what say *ye* that I am? *Simon Peter* answered and said, THOU ART THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD. And Jesus answered and said unto him, *Blessed* art thou *Simon*, son of *Jona*; for flesh and blood, (or *man*) hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father, who is in heaven. 1. And I say unto *thee*, that thou art *Peter* (a *stone*); and upon THIS ROCK will I build my church, and the *gates of hell* shall not prevail against it; and, 2. I will give unto *thee* the *keys* of the kingdom of heaven; and, 3. whatsoever *thou* shalt *bind* on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt

loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. Matt. xvi. 13—19.

The title of THE SON OF MAN was assumed here by our blessed Lord, not merely out of humility, expressive of his human nature, as some suppose, without sufficient grounds; but chiefly, as characteristic of his Divine Mission, like *Daniel's* SON OF MAN, (or divine personage in human form) coming in the clouds of heaven to the ANCIENT OF DAYS, and solemnly invested by Him with universal and everlasting dominion. Dan. vii. 13, 14; and, in this sense, it is chiefly used by our Lord and his Apostles. Matt. xiii. 41; xvi. 27, 28; xxiv. 27, 30, 37, 39, 44; xxv. 31; xxvi. 64; Mark viii. 38; Luke xii. 8; xvii. 22; xxi. 36; Acts i. 11; vii. 56; Rev. i. 13, &c.

The import therefore of our Lord's first question is, *Whom* do men say that I am? Do they say that I am THE SON OF MAN? or, Does the *world* acknowledge me to be the MESSIAH, or CHRIST? They answered in the negative. Our Lord then required of them a declaration of their own faith, "But whom say *ye* that I am?" But they were silent, not decided in their own opinions, and hesitating what to say: *Simon Peter*, therefore, answered *for himself*, "THOU ART, &c." and this without any communication with the rest, but as the result of Divine illumi-

nation, to which alone he owed his information: for "no one *intimately knoweth* THE SON (*επιγινωσκει*) save THE FATHER." Matt. xii. 27. For this exclusive profession, therefore, *Peter* received an appropriate blessing, "Blessed art *thou*," &c.

The first privilege conferred on him, has been variously interpreted by *Romish* and *Protestant* Divines. Thou art *Peter* (*πετρος*) and *upon this rock* (*επι ταυτη τη πετρᾳ*) will I build my Church; and the gates of *Hell*, or the *powers of darkness*, shall not prevail against it, to destroy it.

The word *πετρος* signifies a "*stone*" or "*rock*," as well as *πετρη* and *λιθος*; for which we have classical authority:

Εισω δ'ασπιδ' εαξε, βαλων μυλοειδεϊ πετρω.

"Inwards he broke his shield, striking it with *a stone like a mill-stone*." HOM. ILIAD, vii. 270.

The *Romanists* apply both these terms, *πετρος* and *πετρη*, to the Apostle; and triumphantly represent *Peter* as the *Rock* upon whom Christ's Church is to be built.

But, surely, the terms are not perfectly synonymous: *πετρη* is the genus, and *πετρος* the species; and had *Peter* been meant, the phrase should have been, *επι τουτῳ τῳ πετρῳ*, "*upon this stone*," which would have removed all ambiguity, as has been judiciously remarked by *Augustin* formerly, and by *Lightfoot* in modern times. See Poole's Synopsis.

Relinquishing, therefore, the *Romish* interpretation as untenable, the great majority of *Protestant* Divines, apply the phrase επι ταυτη τη πετρη, "*upon this rock*," to Peter's *profession of Faith*, "THOU ART THE CHRIST," &c. To this, however, it may be objected, that it is rather incongruous, to apply πετρος, to a *person*, and πετρη, contrasted therewith, to a *declaration*; for there is not, I apprehend, any such application of πετρη to be found in the whole range of sacred and profane Classics: And hence, *Hammond* and *Whitby*, Bishops *Pearce* and *Newcome*, &c. the *Unitarian* Versions, *Wakefield*, &c. and lately Professor *Marsh* *, more consistently, apply it

* Professor *Marsh*, to whose opinion great attention is due, states it in the following terms :—

The inference deduced by the Romish Writers from our Saviour's prophecy, "that St. *Peter* was the *rock* on which the Church was to be built," admits of this obvious answer :—In the Church of *Jerusalem*, (which was unquestionably founded by *Peter*,) and not in the Church of *Rome*, was fulfilled this prophecy, that the Church should be founded on St. *Peter*, as a *rock*. It is through the Church of Jerusalem, (which was the *mother* of all Churches,) and not through the Church of Rome, that Christian Churches *in general*, partake of the prophecy of our Saviour, &c. It is, therefore, to be lamented, that such *unnecessary*, and, at the same time, such *unsuccessful*, pains have been taken to shew, that our Saviour, under the word *rock*, did *not* understand St. *Peter*. The distinctions which have been made between Πετρος and Πετρα in the Greek, or between *Petrus* and *Petra* in the Latin Vulgate, when the

to a *person* also, though to the wrong person, *Peter*; confounding πετρος, and πετρη, with the *Romanists*.

language of our Saviour was neither Greek nor Latin, are *surely unworthy of a Critic.* The language spoken by our Saviour with his Apostles was *Syriac,* and the *identical words* which he used on the occasion in question, *must* be sought therefore in the *Old Syriac* Version. Now for the Greek words, συ ει Πετρος, και επι ταυτη τη Πετρα, which in fact are only a *translation,* we find in the old Syriac, the same word (*Cepha*) such in both places. The effect therefore in Syriac, was exactly the same, as if we said in English, to a person whose name was *Rock,* 'Thou art *Rock* in *name,* and shall be Rock in *deed:* for on *thee,* &c.' As our Saviour *necessarily* alluded to St. Peter, when he used *Cepha* the first time, he *could not possibly* allude to *any one* else, when the *very same word* was immediately *repeated.*"—Comparative View, &c. p. 213, 214.

This argument, however ingenious, seems rather *too peremptory;* and to *assume* the very point in question, namely, that our Saviour addressed his disciples in Syriac, not in Greek. And to Professor *Marsh,* I may venture to submit the opinion of an eminent Orientalist, *Lightfoot,* on the passage.

Συ ει Πετρος, &c.

1. There is nothing either in the *dialect* of the nation, or in *reason,* that forbids us to think that our Saviour used *this very same Greek word;* since such *Grecising* was not unusual in that nation [*Galilee* of the *Gentiles,*] ever since the introduction of the *Macedo-Grecian* dynasty in *Asia,* by Alexander's conquests, B.C. 331. But be it granted, (which is asserted here without controversy [or argument]) that He used the *Syriac* word; yet I deny that he used that very

There remains, therefore, only the third, for the true interpretation, that THE ROCK denoted the *personage* to whom Peter referred, "THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD;" and that our Lord marked the application to himself, "*upon* THIS ROCK," by some significant sign, as before, when he said, "*destroy* THIS TEMPLE," &c. meaning "*the temple of his body*;" John ii. 19—21.

The application of the word *rock*, to GOD and CHRIST, is frequent and familiar, both in the Old and New Testament; as emblematical of their *stability* and *immutability*, and of the *security* of those who trust in their protection. The original צור, (*Tsur*,) "Rock," is even rendered Θεος, "*God*," by the Septuagint Version, in three places. Deut. xxxii. 4, 18, 31. And *Isaiah*

word *Cepha*, which he did probably after: but he pronounced it *Cephas*, after the Greek manner; or he spoke it *Cephai*, in the Adjective sense, according to the *Syriac* formation. For how, I pray, could he be understood by the disciples, or by Peter himself, if in both places he had retained the same word, 'Thou art *a Rock*, and upon *this Rock* will I build my Church?' It is readily answered by the *Papists*, that *Peter* was *the Rock*. But let them tell me, why *Matthew* used not the same word in *Greek*, if our Saviour used the same word in *Syriac*? If he had intimated that the Church should be built upon *Peter*, it had been plainer and more agreeable to the vulgar idiom, to have said, "Thou art *Peter*, and upon *thee* will I build my Church."

(more closely translated) has finely expressed the ground of trust in him, xxvi. 4—11.

2. "The words concerning the *rock* upon which the Church was to be built, are evidently taken out of Isaiah xxviii. 16. Which, the New Testament being our interpreter, in very many places, do most plainly denote CHRIST. When, therefore, *Peter*, the first of all the disciples, from the very first beginning of the preaching of the Gospel, had pronounced most clearly of the person of Christ, and had declared the mystery of the *incarnation*, and confessed the *Deity* of Christ, the minds of the Disciples are, with good reason, called-back to those words of *Isaiah*, that they might learn to acknowledge who that '*stone*' was, that was 'set in *Sion*, for a foundation never to be shaken;' and whence it came to pass, that *that* foundation remained so unshaken: namely, from this cause, "that he was not a *creature*, but GOD himself, THE SON OF GOD."

3. "Thence, therefore, *Peter* took his Surname; not that he should be argued to be that *Rock*, but because he was so much to be employed in building a Church upon *a Rock*; whether it were that Church that was to be gathered out of the *Jews*, of which he was the Chief Minister, (Acts ii. &c.) or that of the *Gentiles*, (concerning which the discourse here is principally held), unto which he made the first entrance of the Gospel, (Acts x)."

To this argument of *Lightfoot*, *worthy of so great a Critic*, I will venture to add, that our Lord, on several occasions, seems to have conversed with his Disciples in *Greek*; which was the universal language of that age and country, and therefore adopted by all the writers of the New Testament. One instance is decisive, "I am, *Alpha* and *Omega*, &c." the first and last letters of the *Greek* Alphabet; not *Aleph* and *Tau*, the first and last letters of the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* Alphabets, Rev. i. 8, &c. And I am persuaded, that in *Galilee* he often used it, especially in such sub-

"*Trust ye* in THE LORD * *for ever*;
For in ONE AND THE SAME LORD † is the *rock of ages.*"

And in like manner, our Lord, admonishes his disciples:—

"Let not your heart be troubled:
Trust in GOD, and *trust in* ME." John xiv. 1.

lime expressions as Θελω καθαρισθητι, Matt. viii. 3. φιμωθητι, και εξελθε εξ αυτου, Mark i. 25; Luke iv. 35. Σιωπα, πεφιμωσο, Mark iv. 19. In the two last instances, the difference of the tenses is remarkable: φιμωθητι, the first aorist, signifying literally, "*be muzzled;*" but πεφιμωσο, the perfect passive, "*be instantly muzzled,*" on account of the greater urgency of the occasion, to quell the wind and the waves that threatened to sink the ship, in which our Lord and his Disciples then were. And, since the Evangelist records our Lord's *Syriac* expressions, *Talitha cumi*, "*Damsel arise,*" Mark v. 41. May we not naturally infer, that in the two foregoing cases, cited by Mark himself, our Lord did *not* speak in Syriac; otherwise the Evangelist would probably have recorded the identical expressions, in such signal cases.

We may further observe, that the *Philoxenian* Syriac Version differs from the *Peshito*, or common Version, in this place; retaining the Greek name, *Petros*, and, instead of *Cepha*, "rock," substituting a synonymous term for "*stone,*" to avoid the ambiguity. See White's Edition. The Latin *Vulgate* too, which is of equal authority with the *Peshito*, marks the distinction, like the *Greek* and *Philoxenian*, in rendering *Petrus* and *Petra*. This triple evidence seems to be decisive, against the Peshito.

* JAHOH.

† JAH JAHOH. See *Hales's New Analysis*, Vol. ii. p. 245.

St. *Paul* also, speaking of "the Spiritual Rock, which attended the *Israelites* in the wilderness," and supplied their wants, expressly says, "and THE ROCK was CHRIST." 1 Cor. x. 4.

Our Lord's declaration to *Peter* seems to have been founded on ancient prophecy, "Behold I lay in *Sion* for a *foundation*, a *stone*, an *approved stone*; a *corner-stone*, precious, immoveably fixed: and he who believeth on HIM shall not be confounded." Isa. xxviii. 16. And St. *Paul* thus explains it: "*Other foundation* can no one lay, beside that which is laid, which is JESUS CHRIST." 1 Cor. iii. 11.

But the prophets foretold his rejection by the Jews: "And he [IMMANUEL] shall be to the *Gentiles* for sanctification; but for a *stone* of stumbling, and for a *rock* of offence to two of the Houses of *Israel*, [*Judah* and *Benjamin*,] Isa. viii. 14;—"The *Stone* which the builders refused, is to become the *Corner head-stone*," destined to bind and unite together both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in the profession of the same faith, Psal. cxviii. 22. And these signal prophecies were expressly applied to CHRIST, by our Lord himself, Matt. xxi. 42; Mark xii. 10; Luke xx. 17; and by his Apostles, 1 Pet. ii. 7; Rom. ix. 33; Acts iv. 11; Ephes. v. 23.

And as CHRIST is the *sole foundation*, or *Rock*, destined to support "the kingdom of the *Stone*, which shall never be destroyed," Dan. ii. 41, so

his *Apostles* are also *foundation-stones*, laid upon Him; Ephes. ii. 20; Rev. xxi. 14; whence St. *Peter* himself, explaining this imagery, calls CHRIST λιθον ζωντα, "THE LIVING STONE," and his faithful followers λιθοι ζωντες, "*living stones*," 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5, thus modestly communicating to them also, the title of πετρος, *stone*, conferred upon him by ἡ πετρη, "THE ROCK, CHRIST."

This interpretation, adopted by our ablest Divines, is now, I trust, placed beyond the reach of further controversy.

The second privilege conferred on St. *Peter* was the gift of the *keys* of Heaven. And accordingly, he *first* unlocked the door of Faith to the *Jews*, on the memorable day of Pentecost; and to the *Gentiles*, in the case of *Cornelius*, the Roman Centurion; and also, to the *Jews* of the *dispersion*, and to the foreign Gentiles, at *Antioch, Corinth*, and *Spain*, &c. These keys were likewise communicated to the other Apostles, and especially to *Paul*, "the Apostle of the Gentiles."

The third privilege was the power of *binding* and *loosing*. This is variously interpreted:—The *Romanists* understand it of the power of granting *indulgences*, and remitting *penances*, or *temporal* punishment due to sins; powers, which having been scandalously abused in their Church, brought about, under God, the blessed Reformation. The *Protestants*, with more propriety,

understand it of *Ecclesiastical* Rules or Regulations, to be enacted or rescinded for the good of the Church; as in the decree of the first Apostolic Council held at *Jerusalem*, Acts xv.; or else, of the powers of inflicting miraculous punishments, and even death; and of miraculously healing diseases, and restoring to life, with which *Peter* was eminently gifted; as in the case of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, *Tabitha*, &c. See *Lightfoot*, &c. This power was extended to the other Apostles likewise, John xx. 23, and in a most eminent degree to *Paul*; who was not a whit inferior to the Chief Apostles in Spiritual endowments: striking *Elymas* the Sorcerer blind, and restoring *Eutychus* to life, &c.

But Peter, though Prince of the Apostles, was *primus inter pares*, "first among his equals," he never possessed any spiritual authority, jurisdiction, or supremacy, over the rest. On the contrary, the President of the first Apostolic Council at *Jerusalem*, was *James*, the Lord's Brother, or Cousin-German, who was the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and pronounced the decree, Acts xv. 13—21. And at *Antioch*, when *Peter* dissembled and temporized with the *Juda-izers*, who wished to impose Circumcision on the Gentile Church there, *Paul* boldly withstood him to his face, because he was to be *blamed*." Gal. ii. 11—14.

There was none of the apostles, indeed, that betrayed greater frailty, or weakness, than St. *Peter*.

For his *worldly-mindedness* he drew-down that severe rebuke, "Get thee behind me, *Satan*," &c. shortly after he had received the signal *blessing*. Matt. xvi. 21—23. He thrice formally denied his Lord, as foretold—but was forgiven upon his immediate, and bitter repentance; and he was formally re-instated in his Apostolic office, by his compassionate LORD, after his self-sufficiency and presumption had been sufficiently humbled. *Feed my lambs—feed my sheep—feed my sheep.* John xxi. 15—17. This simple act of re-instatement, in the privileges which he had forfeited, is magnified by the *Romanists* beyond all bounds; as if, indeed, "Our Lord, in the most solemn manner, thrice committed to *Peter* the care of his *whole flock*, of *all his sheep without exception*, that is, of his *whole Church!*"—superseding even *John, the disciple whom* JESUS *loved*, who was present at the time; with others of the Apostles. Such are the interpretations and arguments with which *Romanists* deceive themselves, and labour to support the *Antichristian authority of their head*, deceiving others.

V. The *Roman pontiff* is NOT the *Vicar of Christ*.

This will most satisfactorily appear from a short historical survey of the rise and progress of the *Pontifical title* and power.

At first the Popes were no more than simply Bishops of Rome, (as already shewn) not possess-

ing ecclesiastical jurisdiction beyond their own See, and subservient to the Emperors.

The removal of the seat of Empire by *Constantine* the Great, from Rome to Byzantium, or Constantinople, A. D. 330, in resentment for the ill treatment of the Romans, on his embracing Christianity, first prepared the way for the Papal authority, by removing the controul of the Emperor's presence, and accustoming the Romans to look up to the Bishop as their ostensible head.

In the next place, the conversion to Christianity of the rude and barbarous nations of the North, who invaded the Roman empire, contributed to extend the papal influence among them also. For, as *Machiavel* observes, "The successors of St. *Peter* were reverenced, at first, by all men; and the sanctity of their lives, and [supposed] miracles, and their examples, did so extend the *Christian Religion*, that the princes were under a necessity of obeying, [or conforming thereto] to remove out of the way the *great confusions* that were then in the world." The first of these kingdoms, that of the *Huns*, arose about A. D. 356; and they put an end, at length, to the *western* empire, A. D. 476.

About A. D. 378, Pope *Damasus* obtained an important grant from the Emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, vesting him, by their edict, with *patriarchal* jurisdiction over the whole *western* Church; and, in cases of doubt or difficulty, sanctioning

appeals to Rome. Several of the Pope's Decretal Epistles to the western churches of *Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, Britain,* and *Africa,* about this period, are cited by Sir *Isaac Newton* in his *Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel,* ch. viii. And this edict was afterwards renewed and confirmed to Pope *Leo,* by the Western Emperor *Valentinian* III. A. D. 445, enjoining absolute obedience to the will of the Bishop of *Rome;* and declaring that for the Bishops to attempt any thing without the Papal authority was contrary to ancient custom; and requiring the several Governors of the provinces to carry the Bishops summoned to appear before his judicature, if refractory, to Rome. Hence the Bishops of the province of *Arles,* petitioning *Leo,* A. D. 450, to restore the privileges of their Metropolitan, admitted his supremacy, in these terms, *Per beatum Petrum, Apostolorum principem, sacrosancta Ecclesia Romana tenebat suprà omnes totius Mundi ecclesias principatum,* "Through St. *Peter,* the prince of the Apostles, the most holy Roman Church obtained the supremacy over all the Churches of the whole world." And *Leo* himself claimed it in similar terms. *Quia per omnes Ecclesias cura nostra distenditur; exigente hoc à nobis Domino, qui Apostolicæ dignitatis beatissimo Apostolo Petro primatum, fidei suæ remuneratione, commisit, universalem, ecclesiam fundamenti ipsius soliditate constituens.* "Because our

care is extended over all the Churches; the Lord requiring this of us, who committed the primacy of the Apostolical dignity to the most blessed *Peter*, in reward of his Faith, constituting the Universal Church on the solidity of his foundation." Newton, p. 112.

This important privilege of *Appeals to Rome* laid the first solid foundation of the papal power, by reducing all the other sees under the controul of Rome.

About the same period, a practice was introduced, of which the ever vigilant policy of the Roman Pontiffs availed itself to extend their jurisdiction. The *Transalpine* Bishops, either out of superstition, or to shew their approbation and adoption of the doctrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, were accustomed to undertake pilgrimages to Rome, in order to visit their tombs. This voluntary act of devotion, was afterwards converted by the Roman Pontiffs into an act of duty, or necessity; and the Bishops who neglected to do so, were excommunicated. "And from this custom," says the judicious *Puffendorff*, "without doubt, the Popes have pretended to oblige all bishops to take their *confirmation* at Rome." See his *History of the Popedom*, London, 1691, p. 56.

Next we may notice the refined policy of appointing *Legates*, or *Vicars-general*, in the several courts of Europe, with commission to

watch over the interests of the See of Rome, and to prevent any measures detrimental thereto. Thus the French historians tell us, that, when the Emperor *Honorius*, early in the fifth century, had erected the city of *Arles* into a Metropolis over seven of the sixteen provinces into which France was at that time divided; the Pope, apprehensive that the Archbishop of *Arles* might erect himself into a *Patriarch* of the whole kingdom, appointed him his *Legate*.

The grand Innovator in the Ecclesiastical Regimen of the Church, who changed "*times* and *laws*," at his own will, (as foretold by the prophet *Daniel* of the *little horn*, Dan. vii. 8, 25,) was the celebrated *Gregory* the Great, both Pope and Saint, A. D. 590. He composed a *ritual*, for the use of the *Latin* Church, called the *Gregorian Liturgy*, which soon obtained a general circulation. In this Liturgy the Doctrine of *Purgatory* was set-down as an article of Faith; the *Invocations* of *Saints* and *Angels*, and the *Veneration of relics*; *Masses* for the living and the dead; Toleration of *Images* in Churches; *Lustrations* with holy water; Abstinence from *meat*, *milk*, and *eggs* on fast-days; were all taught and prescribed: and, after long-continued opposition, he at length prevailed to establish the *celibacy* of the Clergy, that master-stroke of papal policy, by which he detached them from their chief *national* and *domestic* connexions, and

made them the *Life-guards* of the Pope. His pontificate, indeed, forms a new era in the Church, from which we may date the actual foundation of the *modern* Church of Rome, thus widely departing from the usages of the *primitive* Church; and forming, we may presume, the *grand apostacy* of *the latter times*, *expressly*, or rather *oracularly*, (ρητω) foretold by St. *Paul*, 1 Tim. iv. 1—3; Coloss. ii. 16—19, alluding to the foregoing prophecy of *Daniel*. For a fuller illustration of this momentous subject, see *Hales's New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 546, &c.

By a base and dishonest policy, *Gregory* the Great and his successors, blended the rites of *Paganism* with the simple ceremonies of Christianity, to gain proselytes. The Pagan Saints-days were converted into Christian Saints-days—and *Diana* of *Ephesus* was succeeded by the *Virgin Mary*, &c. In his letter to *Mellitus*, he strongly marks this Pagan spirit of accommodation of CHRIST with *Belial*. "For that *they* (the Pagans) are wont to kill oxen, in sacrifice to the *devils*, they shall use the same slaughter now, but changed to a *better purpose*." Bede's Eccles. Hist. B. I. ch. 80; Stapleton's translation.

From the Latin term *Popa*, denoting the assistant priest who brought the Heathen sacrifice to the altar, and who was held in a contemp-

tible light by the Romans *, the Pagans probably gave the title of *Pope* to the Roman Pontiffs; but they not relishing it, and yet not able to get rid of it entirely, chose to be called *Papa*, "*Father*," by their followers: in opposition to our Lord's precept to his Apostles, "Call no one your *father*, upon earth; for one is your FATHER, who is in heaven." Matt. xxix. 9.

It is uncertain which of the Popes first assumed the Pagan title of *Pontifex Maximus*. The Rev. *Peter Roberts*, of Llanarmon, (to whom we owe the foregoing conjecture) in his *Review of the Policy of the Modern Church of Rome* in answer to Sir *John Throckmorton's* Argument in favour of the Roman-Catholic Question, 1809, p. 79, strongly suspects that it was *Boniface* III. who, in A.D. 606, first assumed the Unchristian title of *Universal Bishop*, which Gregory the Great had rejected with abhorrence, calling

* *Cicero*, in his oration for *Milo*, § 24, states the contemptible evidence of "one *Licinius*, a *pope*," against his client, thus:—Quinetiam audiendus sit *Popa Licinius*, nescio quis, de *circo maximo*, &c. *Asconius* explains it, "*Licinium*, quendam de plebe *sacrificulum*. Nam *popa* est Sacrorum minister, qui *victimas immolat*.—De *circo maximo*, ubi scorta, meretrices, et perditus quisque qui Ædilem metuebat, habitavit. Hunc ergo *Popam*, *ex vilissimorum hominum grege* esse, hoc verbo significatur. See *Ciceronis Seleetæ Orationes*, 3vo. Amsteld. Welstenii. 1735, p. 247.

himself, in opposition thereto, by the lowly title of *Servus Servorum Dei.* "Servant of the Servants of God." But, notwithstanding all his affected humility, *Gregory* did not scruple to invade the jurisdiction of his brother *John*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, by acquitting a priest of *Chalcedon*, which lay within John's province, who had been condemned for heresy.

This *ominous* title of *Pontifex Maximus*, as Mr. *Roberts* judiciously observes, p. 69—71, leads us to the true *Pagan* character of the *Roman Pontiff*, in that assumption of *spiritual* and *temporal* dominion, so remarkably opposite to the genuine spirit of Christianity.

"*My kingdom,*" said our Saviour, "*is not of this world.*" And when there arose a strife among the *Apostles, which should be accounted the greatest*, he said, the *kings of the Gentiles* exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority over them are called *benefactors**. *But it shall not be so with you.* John xviii. 36; Luke xxii. 25.

In Pagan *Rome*, from the beginning, the *Pontifex Maximus* was also the first person in the *state*. The office was attached, for more than a thousand years, to the regal and imperial dignity, from *Numa*, B. C. 709, to *Gratian*, A. D. 375,

* Ευεργετης, "*benefactor*," was a favourite title of the Macedo-Grecian kings of *Syria and Egypt*.

but then, this *Christian* emperor, renounced the title and office, as interfering with those of "the HIGH PRIEST of *our profession*, JESUS CHRIST." Heb. iii. 1. And, in the times of the Republick, it was the foremost object of the ambition of the leaders, *Julius Cæsar*, *Augustus*, *&c.* And no wonder: for the power of the Pontiffs was supreme in all matters appertaining to Religion. They were not accountable to the Senate or people for their decisions. Their persons were held sacred. The *Pontifex Maximus* had the care of the rites of *Vesta*, and of the *Vestal virgins*, [who were succeeded by the *Nuns*] and thence was stiled *Episcopus*, or *Bishop*. He governed the inferior priests, and public worship, feasts, sacrifices, &c. and punished offenders with fines, and sometimes with death. He had the power of dispensing with religious ceremonies, and judging of oracular books and answers, &c. with *infallible* authority. Thus *Augustus*, when he attained to this station, destroyed upwards of two thousand prophetic books, which he considered as of doubtful authority, and retained only a selection from the *Sybilline Oracles*.—Hence the chief Pontiff was stiled, by *Festus*, *Judex atque arbiter Rerum humanarum divinarúmque*, "Judge, or arbiter, of Human and Divine affairs." *Kennet's* Antiquities, p. 72. *Robert's*, &c. p. 70.

The following extracts from *Cicero*, for

which we are indebted to Mr. *Roberts*, p. 71—75,) may serve to confirm the foregoing statement *.

* 1. Cum multa, Divinitùs, *Pontifices*, à majoribus nostris inventa atque instituta sunt; tum nihil præclarius, quàm quod *vos eosdem* et religionibus Deorum immortalium, et summæ Reipublicæ, præesse voluerunt. *Cicero pro domo suâ ad Pontifices.*

2. Quid est enim tam arrogans, quam de Religione, de rebus Divinis, Cæremoniis, Sacris, *Pontificum Collegium docere* conari? aut tam stultum quam si quis quid in vestris libris invenerit, narrari vobis? aut tam *Curiosum*, quam ea scire velle, quibus majores nostri *vos solos* et *consuli* et *scire*, voluerunt? *Ibid.*

3. Dixi à principio, nihîl me, de Scientiâ vestrâ, nihil de sacris, nihil de *abscondito jure pontificum*, dicturum. *Illa interiora.* Ibid.

4. Quod *tres pontifices* statuissent, id semper populo Romano, semper Senatui, semper ipsis Diis immortalibus, satìs senctum, satìs augustum, satìs religiosum, esse visum est. *Cicer. ad Haruspices.*

5. Religionis explanatio vel ab *uno Pontifice* perito, rectè fieri potest. *Ibid.*

6. Maximum autem et præstantissimum in Republicâ jus est *Augurum*, cum sit *auctoritati* conjunctum.—Quid enim majus est, si de jure quærimus, quam posse a summis imperiis et summis potestatibus comitia tollere? Concilia, vel instituta dimittere, vel habita rescindere? Quid gravius, quam rem susceptam dirimi, si *unus Augur aliter dixerit?* Quid magnificentius, quam posse decernere, ut magistratu se abdicent Consules? Quid religiosius, quam cum populo, cum plebe, agendi jus aut dare, aut non dare? Quid? *Legem*, si non jure rogata est, *tollet.*——*Nihil domi, nihil foris, per Magistratus gestum, sine eorum auctoritate posse cuiquam probari?* *Cicero de legibus, lib.* 2.

1. "Of the many institutions, most reverend *Pontiffs*, which, by Divine inspiration, have been invented and established by our ancestors, none is more excellent, than their positive and invariable Resolution, that you, and none but you should *preside* both over the *public worship* of the immortal Gods, and the *supreme power* of the state."

2. "What therefore can be so arrogant, as to attempt to *teach* the *College of Pontiffs* any thing respecting Religion, divine things, ceremonies, sacrifices? or for any one to inform *you*, what he may have found in your books? or so *impertinently inquisitive* as to wish to know the things which our ancestors chose that *you alone* should *know*, and be *consulted upon?*"

3. "I said, from the beginning, that I meant to say nothing about *your science*, nothing about sacred things, nothing about *the hidden jurisprudence* of the *Pontiffs*. These are *most secret*."—In fact the whole oration shews that *Cicero dared* not.

4. "The determination of *three Pontiffs* has always been held by the Roman people, by the senate, and by the immortal Gods themselves, to be sufficiently sacred, august, and satisfactory in matters of religion."

5. "The explanation of a religious doubt, may rightly be given even by a *single* Pontiff, well-informed."

To this representation of the enormous privileges of the *Pagan Pontiffs*, we must add those of their associates, the *Augurs*, or "Diviners," instituted by *Romulus*, who was an extraordinary proficient in the art, and *Chief Augur* himself; a title retained by all the kings and emperors also; as appears from coins of *Julius Cæsar*, *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Verus*, &c. marked with the Augural ensigns, the *lituus*, &c.

6. "The greatest and most excellent jurisdiction in the state," continues *Cicero*, "is that of the *Augurs*, because it is connected with the *supreme authority*. For, if we enquire about authority, what is greater than to be able to deprive the chief magistrates and chief officers of the power of holding assemblies? of dismissing councils or rescinding decrees? What more authoritative, than to put a stop to any business entered-upon, if a *single augur prohibit?* What more magnificent, than to be able to decree, that the Consuls shall abdicate their magistracy? What more venerable, than to grant, or not to grant, the privilege of public trial, before the people, or before the plebeians? What? that it can *rescind a law*, if irregularly passed? that *no act of any of the magistrates, at home or abroad, can be valid without their approbation?*"

Such were the enormous powers attached to the *Pagan Pontiffs* and *Augurs*, and afterwards usurped by the *Roman* Pontiff when the *Christian*

Emperors had relinquished those offices. Nor can we wonder at the facility with which the *Laity* submitted to such usurpation. The multitude of dissembling *Pagan* converts, which flocked into the Church, after *Constantine* the Great had made Christianity the Religion of the State, brought with them their old prejudices, their blind submission to *pontifical* authority, and slavish fear of questioning its dictates. And they were further flattered by the artful and worldly policy of the Roman Pontiffs, in assuming the heathen titles and adopting their dress, and magnificence, and even the *lituus* of the *Augurs*, under the new name of the *Pastoral Staff*, or *Crozier*; and in instituting the similar *College of Cardinals*, *&c.*

See all these innovations wonderfully predicted by *Daniel*, xi. 31—38; and explained in *Hales's New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 1327—1330.

The next step taken, by the See of Rome, to rivet their yoke upon the necks of their brethren, the other prelates, was an *oath* of obedience and fidelity to the Roman Pontiffs, introduced by *Boniface* the Monk, (usually called the *Apostle of Germany*) who was invested by Pope Gregory II. as his *Legate*, with plenary authority to assemble Councils, and make Bishops in the countries which he should convert. Under the protection of *Charlemagne* and of *Pepin*, *Boni-*

face held several Councils and Synods in *Germany* and *France*, in which he presided as *Legate* of the Roman See. In the first Council he persuaded the Clergy to sign a *confession of Faith*, whereby they *bound* themselves to *persevere in the Catholic Faith; professed themselves members of the Church of Rome*; *and vowed an eternal respect and obedience to St. Peter's successors.*"

The form of this first Episcopal Oath, about A.D. 731, was as follows * :

* *Juramentum Episcopi.*

Ego, N. Episcopus, ab hac horâ in antea *fidelis ero Sancto Petro, Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Dominóque meo Papæ C, ejúsque successoribus canonicè intrantibus.* Non ero neque in consîlio neque facto, ut vitam perdat aut membrum, vel capiatur malâ captione. Consilium quod mihi aut per se, aut per literas, aut per negotium manifestabit, ad ejus damnum nemini pandam. *Papatum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et regulas Sanctorum Patrum, adjutor ero ad defendendum et retinendum, (salvo ordine meo) contrà omnes homines.* Vocatus ad *Synodum* veniam, nisi præpeditus Canonicâ præpeditione. *Legatum Apostolicæ Sedis* quem certum esse cognovero, in eundo et redeundo honorificè tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. *Limina Apostolica singulis annis*, aut per me, aut per certum nuntium, visitabo, nisi eorum absolvar licentiâ. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc Sancta Evangelia.

This form of an Oath was prescribed by *Gregory* III. A.D. 731, and is to be found in the *Decretals* of *Gregory* IX. Lib. ii. Tit. 24, c. 4, p. 113, published in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Antwerp, 1648. Since that time, the Episcopal Oath has been considerably enlarged. See a later form, in the Roman Pontifical, printed at *Venice*, 1572, in which the

" I, N, Bishop, from this hour forward will be *faithful* to St. *Peter* and the *holy Roman Church*, and to *my Lord Pope C*, and *his successors canonically entering*. I will neither be of counsel nor act, whereby he may lose life or member, or be taken by evil capture. The counsel which he shall make known to me, either by himself, or by letter, or by messenger, I will disclose unto no one to his detriment. *The Papacy of Holy Roman Church, and the Rules of the Holy Fathers* [in their *General Councils*] *I will be an assistant to defend and retain (saving mine own order) against all men.* When called to a Synod, I will come, unless I shall be prevented by a Canonical impediment. The *Legate* of the Apostolic See, whom I shall know for a certainty to be such, I will honourably entreat, both going

persecuting clause seems to have been first introduced, as follows:—

Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et Rebelles eidem Domino vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse *prosequar* et impugnabo: " Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels to the same Lord (the Pope) and his successors aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, *prosecute* and impugn."—But the term *prosequar*, not being thought strong enough, was changed into *persequar*, " *I will persecute*," in the last form, which was first introduced in the *Pontifical* of *Clement* VIII. published at Rome in 1595. See the Oath at length, in Bishop Woodward's *State of the Church of Ireland;* or Extracts from it, in *Hales' Letters on the Romish Hierarchy, addressed to Dr. Troy*, p. 27.

and coming, and assist him in his necessities. The *thresholds of the Apostles* I will *every year* visit, either personally or by a trusty messenger, unless I shall be absolved by their licence. So help me God, and these holy Gospels!"

This same *Boniface* the Monk, first received a bishop's pall *(pallium*, cloak,) himself from Gregory II. in the year 723, and persuaded the bishops of *Germany* to accept the same as a token of honour from the Pope; who afterwards contrived to introduce this ceremony into *France* also; and afterwards imposed it as an indispensable requisite, and forbad them the exercise of any episcopal functions, until they had received the pall, as a token of investiture, from Rome.

In the year 1073, Gregory VII. (before called *Hildebrand*), *that prodigy of wickedness and papal usurpation,* according to *Baronius*, Annal. page 985, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, assumed the papacy without the consent of the Emperor *Henry* IV. And, not satisfied with this infringement of the Emperor's rights, claimed also the power of *appointing Bishops*; and, by dint of excommunication, and a formidable combination of the Ecclesiastical and Lay States of Germany, (which he excited and fomented,) at length he compelled Henry to relinquish the ancient right of appointing to

Bishopricks, and leave them wholly in the Pope's disposal.

Afterwards the Emperor Henry V. endeavoured to recover what Gregory had wrested from his father, and, seizing upon the person of Pope *Pascal* II. obliged him to relinquish it. But the *German* Clergy, (over whom the Popes had, by this time, acquired an absolute ascendency,) so harrassed the Emperor, that they forced him, in the year 1122, to resign for ever that prerogative to the Pope.

In *England*, happily, the *Kings* were not so submissive; and the right of *Papal Investitures*, was all along resisted by the princes of the *Norman* line, except by those intruders, *Henry* I., *Stephen*, and *John*, to whom the influence of the Church was necessary to support them on the throne. And, after repeated struggles for power, between the *Popes* and the *Parliaments*, who were always most jealous of Papal usurpation, the blessed Reformation, in the reign of king Henry the 8th, set them free from Papal Tyranny. Of this, further notice will be taken in the following *Essay*. Another link in the Chain of Papal Tyranny, was the introduction of the *Canon Law* and *Decretals*, by Pope *Innocent* II. A.D. 1130, in opposition to the *Justinian* Code of *Civil* Law; which were calculated to serve the Pope's Interest, and depress the rights of the other Patriarchs, and of temporal Princes. The

consequence of this was obvious. The other Bishops and Churches had often recourse to Rome, as novices have to their teachers, for advice in the explanation and use of the *Canons*. The Popes, therefore, under pretence that, Rome being the first and chief See in Christendom, it became the duty of her Bishop to see that the *Canons* and *Ecclesiastical* Laws were observed and executed, took upon themselves to appoint Judges of the differences that arose between the other Bishops,—encroached upon the jurisdiction of the Metropolitans,—deposed Bishops that were not regularly consecrated, or that were accused of any great crime; and compelled them to come to Rome in person, to plead their causes.

Not, but that there were "many of the Bishops" (as *Puffendorf* observes,) "well enough content to submit to this slavery, in hopes of sharing the prey with their Chief; and because they were thereby freed from the Jurisdiction of their *Temporal* princes, whose power they more dreaded than that of a *distant* Tribunal; the Judges whereof, being of the *same trade* as themselves, were not so terrible to them. *For one crow will not pick-out it's fellow's eyes.*"—Some of these indulgent, and very accommodating, *Canons*, the reader may see in the note *.

* The following decrees for exempting *Ecclesiastics* from *Lay* jurisdiction, are taken from the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, *Decret. Greg.* Tit. 1, p. 76.

The last, and not the least powerful, cause of the *Bishops* not resisting the growing power of

De judiciis.

Eugenius Papa.

Cap. 2.—Decernimus, ut *Laici Ecclesiastica* tractare negotia non præsumant.

Cap. 4.—Et si *Clerici* coràm *sæculari judice* convicti fuerint, vel confessi, de *crimine*, non sunt propter hoc, à *suo Episcopo* aliquatenùs condemnandi. Sicut enim sententia à *non suo judice* lata *non tenet*, et ita confessio coràm eo.

De *adulteriis* verò et aliis criminibus quæ sunt *minora*, potest *Episcopus* cum *Clericis*, post peractam pænitentiam, *dispensare*. Sed non debet quemlibet *depositum pro suis excessibus* (cum suo sit functus officio, nec *duplici* debeat ipsum *contritione* conterere) *judici* tradere *sæculari*.

Cœlestinus III.

Cap. 10.—A nobis fuit ex parte tuâ quæsitum—"utrum liceat *Regi*, vel alicui *sæculari personæ*, judicare *Clericos* cujuscunque ordinis, sive in *furto*, sive in *homicidio*, vel *perjurio*, seu *quibuscunque* fuerint *criminibus* deprehensi?" Consultationi tuæ taliter respondeo: Quod si *Clericus*, in quocunque ordine constitutus, in furto, vel homicidio, vel perjurio, vel alio crimine fuerit deprehensus, legitimè atque convictus; ab *Ecclesiastico* judice *deponendus* est: qui, si depositus, incorrigibilis fuerit, *excommunicari* debet: deinde contumaciâ crescente, *anathematis* mucrone feriri: postmodùm verò, si in profundum malorum veniens, contempserit; (quum *ecclesia* non habeat *ultrà* quid faciat) ne possit esse ultrà perditio plurimorum, per *sæcularem* comprimendus est potestatem ita quod ei deputetur *exilium*, vel alia *legitima pœna* inferatur.

the Popes, was the establishment of the various orders of *Monks* and *Friars* in the Roman Church. "From these Monks," says *Puffendorf*, "has the Pope formed his *Prætorian* band, or regiment of guards, whom he has not only quartered, as *troublesome companions*, upon the *Laity*; but makes use of them as *Spies* over the actions of the *Bishops* and the rest of the *Clergy*. Therefore it is, that the Popes have maintained with so much zeal, the privileges of the Monks, especially in the thirteenth Century, when they endeavoured to force themselves from the Bishops' Jurisdiction, and subject themselves immediately to the Pope. And, although there are great jealousies betwixt their Orders, (as, for example,

Innocentius III.

Cap. 17.—Præcipiatis ex parte nostrâ Prælatis, ut *Laicis* de *Clericis, conquerentibus,* plenam faciant justitiam exhiberi, non obstantibus *appellationibus frustratoriis,* quas in *eorum* gravamine, *Clerici* frequenter opponunt: ne *pro defectu justitiæ,* Clerici trahantur à Laicis ad *judicium sæculare:* quod *omninò* fieri prohibemus.

Cap. 11, 12.—Ad *sacerdotes* Deus voluit quæ in Ecclesiâ disponenda sunt, pertinere; non ad *sæculi potestates;* quas, si *fideles* sunt, Ecclesiæ suæ Sacerdotibus voluît esse subjectas. *Imperatores Christiani* subdere debent executiones suas *Ecclesiasticis presulibus,* non præferre. Obsequi *solere* principes *Christianos* decretis *Ecclesiæ,* non suam præponere potestatem. *Episcopis* caput subdere principem *solitum,* non de eorum capitibus judicare.

betwixt the *Franciscans* and the *Dominicans*,) yet he contrives to hold the balance so evenly, and to dispense his favours so impartially, that one Order cannot be oppressed by another; nor has reason to complain of the Pope's injustice."

And, to crown all, these *Monks* and *Friars* were usually *Confessors* to all the Crowned Heads in Europe, and therefore were masters of their secrets. By the artful and dexterous combination of all these engines, and political machines, with the humours and passions, the hopes and the fears of mankind, both temporal and eternal, 1. Lofty and arrogant pretensions of *Supremacy* and *Infallibility*; 2. *Appeals* to Rome; 3. The Institution of *Legates*; 4. The ancient and venerable authority of the *Pagan Pontiffs* and *Augurs*; 5. The *Oaths*; and 6. The *Investiture* of Bishops; 7. The Introduction of the *Canons* and *Decretals*, and the exemption of the Clergy from *Secular* Jurisdiction; 8. The Institution of the several Orders of *Monks* and *Friars*, under the Pope's immediate jurisdiction; who were usually 9. *Confessors* to all the Sovereign Princes of Christendom, who were in communion with the Church of Rome; 10. the *Pontiffs* gained a paramount influence and controul in the *general Councils* convened from time to time, pretendedly for the suppression of *Heresies*, and the reformation of *Morals*, but, in reality, for the extension of the *Papal* power and jurisdiction.

For such were the deleterious decrees of the great General Councils of *Lateran*, A.D. 1139, 1179, and 1215; of *Constance*, A. D. 1414; of *Basil*, A. D. 1431; and of *Trent*, A.D. 1549; which only riveted the Papal Yoke upon the necks of their slaves! ! !

I shall close this *Introduction* with the Reflexions of a great Traveller and accomplished Scholar, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, on this Subject, in his *Speculum Europæ*; or, *Survey of the State of Religion in the Western part of the World*, written at *Paris*, in 1509. A work, that, in point of nervous composition,—of concise, yet flowing eloquence,—and of masterly reasoning,—has not, perhaps, been exceeded by any later work, whatsoever, even of the *present age*.

Sir *Edwin Sandys'* Illustration of Government of the Church of Rome.

"But to come now, to the view of their *Ecclesiastical Government*—as addressed to the upholding of the *worldly power* and *glory* of their order.—I think I may truly say: There was never yet STATE framed by man's wit in this World, more powerful and forcible to work these effects; never any more wisely contrived and plotted, or more constantly and diligently put in practice and execution; insomuch that, *but for the natural weakness of untruth and dishonesty, which (being rotten at the heart,) abate the force of whatever is founded thereon,* their *outward means* were sufficient to *subdue a whole world.*"

"The particular ways they hold to *ravish all*

affections, and to fit each humour, (which, their Jurisdiction and Power being but persuasive and voluntary, they principally regard) are well nigh infinite: There being not any thing either sacred or profane, no virtue or vice almost, no things of so contrary condition soever, which they make not, in some sort, to serve that turn; that each fancy may be satisfied, and each appetite find what to feed on. *Whatsoever* either wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers, of the world; *what* honour, with the ambitious; *what* obedience, with the humble; *what* great employment, with stirring and mettled spirits; *what* perpetual quiet, with heavy and restive spirits; *what* content the pleasant nature can take in pastimes and jollity; *what* contrariwise the austere mind, in discipline and rigour; *what* love, either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousness in the dissolute; *what* allurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of state to possess the practic dispositions; *what* with the hopeful, prerogative of reward can work; *what* errors, doubts, and dangers, with the fearful; *what* change of vows, with the rash; of estate, with the inconstant; *what* pardons, with the faulty, or supplies with the defective; *what* miracles, with the credulous; *what* visions, with the fantastical; *what* gorgeousness of shews, with the

vulgar and simple; *what* multitude of ceremonies, with the superstitious and ignorant; *what* prayer, with the devout; *what* with the charitable, works of piety; *what* rules of higher perfection, with elevated affections; *what* dispensing with breach of all rules, with men of lawless conditions; in sum: *what* thing *soever* can prevail with any man, either for himself to pursue, or, at leastwise, to love, reverence, or honour, in another; (for even therein also, man's nature receiveth great satisfaction) the same is found in them: not, as in other places of the world, by casualty, blended without order, and of necessity; but sorted in great part, into several professions; countenanced with reputation, honoured with prerogatives, facilitated with provisions and yearly maintenance; and either (as the better things) advanced with expectation of reward; or borne-with (how bad soever) with sweet and silent permission.

"What pomp, what riot, to that of their Cardinals? What severity of life comparable to their Hermits and Capuchins? Who, wealthier than their Prelates? Who, poorer than their Mendicants? On the one side of the street, a cloyster of Virgins; on the other, a sty of Courtezans with public toleration. This day, all in masks, with all looseness and foolery; to-morrow, all in processions, whipping themselves till the

blood follow. On one door an Excommunication throwing to Hell all Transgressors; on another, a Jubilee, or full Discharge from all Transgressions.

Who, learneder in all kinds of sciences than their Jesuits? What thing more ignorant than their parish-Priests? What Prince so able to prefer his Servants and followers as the Pope, and in so great multitude? Who, able to take deeper and readier revenge on his enemies? What pride equal to his, making Kings kiss his pantofle? What humility greater than his, shriving himself daily on his knees to an ordinary priest? Who, difficulter in dispatch of causes to the Greatest? Who, easier in giving audience to the Meanest? Where, greater rigour in the world in exacting the observance of the *Church Laws?* Where, less care or conscience of the COMMANDMENTS OF GOD? To taste flesh on a *Friday*, when suspicion might fasten, were matter for the *Inquisition*; whereas, on the other side, the *Sunday* is one of their greatest market-days."

"To conclude, never State, never Government in the World, so strangely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertain the several humours of all men, and to work what kind of effect they shall desire: where rigour and remissness, cruelty and lenity are so com-

bined, that with neglect of the Church, to stir aught, is a sin unpardonable; whereas, with duty towards the Church, and by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance of her pleasure, *no Law of* God or *Nature* so sacred, which, one way or other, they find not means to *dispense with*, or, at leastwise, *permit the breach of*, by connivance and without disturbance."

AN

ESSAY,

&c.

NOTWITHSTANDING the labours of such learned Antiquaries as *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Camden*, *Usher*, *Lloyd*, *Stillingfleet*, &c., the origin of the primitive *British* and *Irish Churches* has been wrapt in much obscurity and uncertainty. Of this, the following reasons may be assigned:

1. The idle and visionary tales, and monkish legends, blended with the original documents still subsisting, which render it no short nor easy task, to separate the wheat from the chaff, truth from fiction.

2. The undue credence given to the *monkish* historians, whose devotion to the See of *Rome* frequently led them to pervert, falsify, or suppress the early evidence of the usurped Supremacy of the modern Church of Rome, over her Sister Churches.

3. The want of more carefully examining, and more critically comparing together, the several valuable documents, that have been collected by the skill and industry of the foregoing Antiquaries; and of adjusting their *Chronology*.

4. The want of some curious and important *Welsh* records, unknown to former Antiquaries, and but lately brought to light, by those learned and intelligent *Welsh* scholars, *Roberts*, *Williams*, &c., in the *Archæologia Myviriana, Collectanea Cambrica*, &c.; and of some interesting *Irish* records, the *Annals of the four Masters*, &c. lately translated by that eminent *Irish* scholar, Dr. *O'Connor*.

I shall therefore attempt, in the following Essay,

I. To review the various and discordant traditions respecting their origin.

II. To trace their true origin and establishment, upon Scriptural and Ecclesiastical evidence.

III. To shew their entire and total independence upon the Church of Rome, from the earliest periods of their history.

IV. To shew the determined and unremitting opposition of the Church and State, in both Islands, to the encroachments and usurpations of the Church and See of Rome, from the first establishment of Christianity in Great Britain and Ireland, to the blessed Reformation.

V. To exhibit some authentic and advantageous specimens of the purity and simplicity of the doctrine of these primitive Churches, and of their abhorrence of the errors and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*.

SECTION I.

Unfounded Traditions respecting the Origin of the British and Irish Churches.

The introduction of Christianity into the *British* Isles, has been ascribed to several of the *Apostles*, or their immediate disciples: to the Apostles, *John*, *James* the elder, *James* the less, *Simon Zelotes*, *Peter*, or *Paul*; or to their assistants, *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Aristobulus*, &c.; who severally have been patronized by the learned, in ancient or modern times.

1. St. *John*. *Tertullian* relates, that this Apostle was cast into a caldron of boiling oil, by the tyrant *Nero*, at *Rome*; and after he came out unhurt, was banished to a *certain island**. But this miracle is unnoticed by any of the early Fathers, *Clemens Romanus*, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, *Origen*, and *Jerome*, who had better sources of information. And St. *John* was banished not by *Nero*, but by *Domitian*, as we learn from *Sulpicius Severus* and *Isidore*, (see Lardner, Vol. II. p. 268; V. p. 164, 309); not to *Britain*, but to *Patmos*, in the Archipelago, as he declares him-

* Ubi Apostolus *Johannes*, posteaquam in Oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, *in insulam* relegatur. De Præscript. Hæres. c. 36. p. 245.

self, Rev. i. 9. The learned antiquary, *Roberts*, however, has adopted this tradition, on account of the great stress laid upon St. *John*'s authority in the debate between *Colman* and *Wilfrid*, A. D. 664, about the time of celebrating Easter. The Irish champion, *Colman*, contended for the fourteenth day of the *Paschal* moon, when the passover was celebrated by CHRIST, and according to primitive usage; but *Wilfrid*, for the *fifteenth* day, with *Caiaphas* and the *Jews*; when it was improperly celebrated, as may be proved from John xviii. 28. xix. 14. compared with Luke xxii. 7.

But *Roberts* himself has satisfactorily accounted for the great veneration in which this Apostle and his writings were held in *Britain* and *Ireland*, from the early intercourse and connexion subsisting between the *British* and *Gallican* Churches; for *Irenæus*, the bishop of *Lyons* in Gaul, was the disciple of *Polycarp*, who was the disciple of St. *John*. See the *Collectanea Cambrica*, No. 6. and *Roberts*' Visitation Sermon, 1812, notes, p. 20.

2. St. *James* the elder. He could not possibly have visited the British isles, because he was slain by *Herod*, A. D. 44.

3. St. *James* the less, or the *Lord's brother*, or cousin-german, was elected first bishop of *Jerusalem*; and was slain by the Jews A. D. 63., as we learn from *Josephus*.

4. *Simon Zelotes.* According to *Nicephorus,* he preached the Gospel as far as the Western ocean, and the *British* isles, and was crucified in *Britain.* This, however, is contradicted by *Bede*; who states that *Simon* suffered in *Persia,* Oct. 28, in his *Martyrology.*

5. St. *Peter.* His visit to *Britain,* rests on the single authority of *Simeon Metaphrastes:* who states that "St. *Peter* spent some days in *Britain,* and enlightened *many,* by the word of Grace; and having established *Churches,*" &c. See Introduct. p. 20.

But it is incredible, that so much should be effected by the Apostle, in so short a time. And the total silence of all the early Fathers respecting this visit, and of any of the *British* Churches to claim St. *Peter* as their founder, is sufficient to invalidate his testimony.

Joseph of Arimathea. His pretensions have been supported by *Theophilus Evans* in his *Drych y prif Oesoed,* and the learned and pious *Charles Edwards* in his *Hanes y Ffydd.* But Mr. *Roberts* represents this as a legendary tale, fabricated by the Monks of *Glastonbury,* after they had plundered the records of St. *David's.* Sermon, p. 21.

6. There remains, therefore, only the tradition of St. *Paul's* visit to *Britain,* with which that of *Aristobulus* is connected. And this tradition has been adopted by the most learned Antiquaries, ancient and modern; by *Parker, Camden, Usher,*

Stillingfleet, Cave, Gibson, Nelson, Rowland, Roberts, and lately by the pious and primitive Bishop *Burgess*, in his elaborate *Tracts* on the *Origin and Independence of the British Church*, 1815, second edition, which originally appeared in the form of *Letters to his Clergy of St. David's*.

A tradition so fully and so respectably supported, merits the strictest discussion. And I have been encouraged to undertake the arduous task, by his Lordship himself; who, in a letter, with which I was favoured by him, July 17, 1815, thus expresses himself, with the candour and liberality of a *scholar*, whose sole object is the discovery of *truth* :—

" I am glad you are pursuing your inquiries into the first introduction of the Gospel into *Britain*. The more I study the subject, the more I am convinced of St. *Paul*'s having preached the Gospel in these islands. But your convictions are equally decided, that he did not. Nothing but ample and full investigation of the subject can remove the difficulties, which occasion such a difference of opinion. I shall therefore receive with great pleasure, the result of your inquiries."

And again, August 28, 1815.—" I shall be very glad to see your Essay on the subject. I most cordially adopt your maxim: Μονῃ θυτεον τῃ αληθειῃ—" *Sacrifice to* THE TRUTH *alone*."

The Bishop maintains (with *Usher*) that "St. *Paul* established a form of Church Government in *Britain*; and that he appointed *Aristobulus* (noticed by the Apostle, Rom. xvi. 10.) to be the first Bishop of *Britain:* upon the authority of the Greek *Menæa*, and of *Dorotheus.*" Tracts, &c. pp. 55, 70.

To support this authority, his Lordship produces a considerable number of vouchers; *Clemens Romanus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Theodoret*, &c. among the Fathers, and two *British* records; pp. 3, 23, 70—73.

1. His first and most important evidence, is that of *Clemens Romanus,* the intimate friend and fellow-labourer of St. *Paul*, of whom honourable mention is made, Phil. iv. 3,—which is partially cited, Tracts, pp. 47, &c. 108, &c., and fully, in the foregoing *Introduction*, p. 12.

But it is to be observed, that this passage seems too *vague* and *rhetorical* to ascertain the fact upon sober, historical testimony. *Clemens* represents the Apostle, as δικαιοσυνην διδαξας ὁλον τον κοσμον, "having taught *the whole world* righteousness." This surely is not *geographically* true. He did not at all preach the Gospel in the *Parthian* empire; in the extensive and populous regions of *Upper Asia*; of *India*, east and west of the *Ganges*; in the wide regions of *Libya* and *Africa*; nor even in the *northern* parts of *Europe*: His travels were confined to the *southern* parts,

within the precincts of the *Roman* empire. And if so, surely we are not bound to understand in strictness, the next passage: επι το τερμα της δυσεως ελθων, "Having gone to the *termination of the west*," or rather, of the *setting sun*. But admitting that it is to be understood geographically, where is this "*termination of the west*" to be found, within the wide range of the sun's setting amplitude? Have not Cape *Finisterre*, and *Cadiz*, in *Spain*, better astronomical and classical pretensions than *Britain*? as being nearer to the *tropics;* these τροπαι ἡελιοιο, "*turnings of the sun*," noticed by Homer, Odyss. xv. 403, which include the sun's greatest northern and southern declinations from the *Æquinoctial*. Cape *Finisterre* (*finis terræ*, the land's end,) was usually considered as the western termination of *Europe*. And so was *Gades* or *Cadiz*, by *Juvenal*, the contemporary of *Clemens*:

> Omnibus in terris quæ sunt a *Gadibus* usque
> *Auroram* et *Gangem*, pauci dignoscere possunt
> Vera bona, atque illis multum diversa, remotâ
> Erroris nebulâ!

> "In all the lands that reach from *Cadiz* [westward]
> To the *Ganges*, eastward; how few are able
> To distinguish *real good* and *evil*,
> Removing the mist of error!" SAT. x. 1.

And surely, *Ireland*, lying still more westerly, has better pretensions than *Britain*. But unquestionably St. *Paul* never visited *Ireland*. How inconclusive then is the testimony of *Clemens*?

And how unwarrantable is it to erect a *logical argument*, upon a *figurative expression?*

Still more vague and indeterminate are the Bishop's succeeding early testimonies, p. 48—50.

Irenæus speaks of Christianity as having been propagated by the Apostles and their *disciples*, ἕως περατων της γης, "to the *ends of* the earth;" εν τοις Ιβεριοις, "in the *Iberias*," or regions of *Spain* and *Lusitania* or *Portugal;* και εν Κελτοις, "and among the *Celts*," or *Germans*, *Gauls* and *Britons:* but he does not specify, at *what time*, nor distinguish by *whom*.

Tertullian represents "all the extremities of the *Spains*, the different nations of the *Gauls*, and even the regions of the *Britons* inaccessible to the *Romans*, as converted to Christ, in his time;" but with the same latitude of expression.

Eusebius, indeed, says more distinctly, "that *some* (ἕτερος) of the *Apostles* passed over the *Ocean* to the Isles called *British*." But he does not state *which* of the Apostles.

Jerome says, "that St. *Paul*, after his liberation by *Nero*, preached the *Gospel* in the *western parts;*" and that he included *Britain*, in the western parts, appears, says the Bishop, from his "*Epist. ad Marcellum*," pp. 50, 115.

But the fuller testimony of *Jerome*,* referred

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* "*Paulus* Apostolus vocatus a Domino, *effusus est super faciem universæ terræ*, ut prædicaret evangelium a *Hieru-*

to, but not cited by the Bishop, on *Amos*, c. 5, is highly rhetorical:

"The Apostle *Paul*, after his call, by THE LORD, *was spread over the face of the whole earth*, to preach the Gospel from *Jerusalem* [southwards] even to *Illyricum* [northwards]; and that 'he might not build upon another's foundation,' where it had been preached before, he moreover went to the *Spains:* He also ran from the *South Sea*, [or *Red Sea*] even from the (*Indian*) *Ocean* [eastward] to the (*Atlantic*) *Ocean*, [westward]; thus imitating the *Lord his God*, and the *Sun of Righteousness:* of whom we read, 'His going forth is from one end of the heaven, and his arrival at the other end of it.' And sooner should the earth fail, than *Paul's* zeal in preaching the Gospel." This highly figurative language, resembling *Clemens*, does not specify the *British* Isles.

The testimony, indeed, of *Theodoret* is express, that "St. *Paul*, after his release from confinement, went to *Spain*, and brought salvation to

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salem usque ad *Illyricum*, et *ædificaret non super alterius fundamentum*, (Rom. xv. 20.) ubi jam fuerit prædicatum, sed usque ad *Hispanias* tenderet; et a *mari Austro*, immo ab *occano* ad *oceanum* curreret: imitans utique *Dominum Deum suum*, et *Solem Justitiæ*, (Mal. iv. 2.) de quo legimus, '*A summo cœlo egressio ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.*' (Ps. xix. 6.) Et ante *Paulum*, terra deficeret, quam studium prædicandi evangelium." *Pererii Dissert.* p. 3.

the *Islands lying in the Ocean*," p. 51.—But *Theodoret* wrote in the *fifth* century, A.D. 423—460.

The testimony of *Venantius Fortunatus* in the *sixth* (A.D. 560—600), p. 51, savours of *poetical exaggeration*; stating that the Apostle even visited *ultima Thule*; which, whether it denotes *Shetland*, *Scandinavia*, or *Iceland*, is not true.

The testimony of *Athanasius*, is thus rendered by the Bishop. "St. *Paul* preached as far as *Illyricum*, and did not hesitate to *return to Rome*, (εις την Ρωμην απελθειν) and even to go to *Spain*, that, in proportion to the labour, he might receive the greater reward," p. 79.

Paul, on his return to Rome from the east, was beheaded by *Nero*; and therefore could not go to *Spain*, *after his return*, as the Bishop's translation seems to imply. I apprehend that the original should rather be rendered, to "*go from* [*Cæsarea*] to *Rome*;" whither he was sent by *Festus*, on his appeal to *Cæsar*. The compound verb απελθειν is so understood by *Theodoret*, in the citation, p. 80. "Then *going from thence*, [*Rome*] (ενθενδε απελθων) to the *Spains*, and having brought the divine Gospel to them also, he *returned again* (επανελθε) to *Rome*." But *Theodoret* says nothing here of the Apostle's visit to *Britain*.

The Bishop closes his historical evidence with the remark of *Ludovicus Capellus*, whom he

justly ranks among "our most valuable historians." This remark is given (untranslated) in a note, Tracts, p. 22. It may be thus closely rendered:

"It is a common and most generally received opinion *of all the Fathers*, and scarcely rejected by *any one* that I know of, at the present day, that the Apostle *Paul*, after he had spent two years at Rome, (as mentioned Acts xxviii. 30.) when he was liberated from his bonds, spent *some years* in preaching, during his travels in the *West*."

But how little credit *Capellus* himself attached to this prevailing tradition, will appear from the subsequent remark, in the *Appendix* to his *Hist. Apost.* p. 29—36, edit. 1683 *.

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* "Quî factum, ut nulla sint in totâ *primitivæ Ecclesiæ* historiâ, *certa* vestigia aut monumenta a Paulo prædicati evangelii, hoc vel illo loco; et *ecclesiarum* ab eo in *Italia*, *Gallia*, *Germania* aut *Hispania* constitutarum? Adde, quod causa nulla idonea fingi potest, cur *Lucas*, qui perpetuus fuit et individuus *Pauli* in *prioribus* et *posterioribus vinculis* [*Romæ*] comes, de illa *Occidentis* a *Paulo* factâ perigrinatione, prorsus tacuerit. *Incerta*, ergo, *prorsus* videtur *illa Patrum traditio, nullo satis firmo fundamento* subnixa, quâ asserunt *Paulum* prioribus vinculis solutum, in occidente evangelium prædicasse; (quales complures sunt *aliæ veteres traditiones*, αξιοπιστως receptæ, *incertæ*, vel etiam *falsæ*, a doctis viris notatæ) cum ex *Scripturâ*, (uti demonstratum est) colligi verius possit, eum *Orientem* repetivisse, non autem in occidentem profectum esse." Lud. Capell. Append. ad Hist. Apost. pp, 29—36. edit. 1683.

"How comes it to pass, that throughout the whole course of *primitive Ecclesiastical History*, there are no *certain* traces or monuments of *Churches* founded by St. *Paul* in different parts of *Italy, Gaul, Germany*, and *Spain?*

"We may further observe, that no sufficient reason can be assigned, why *Luke*, the constant and inseparable companion of *Paul*, both in his former and in his latter bonds [at *Rome*], is totally silent about the last *western* expedition of the Apostle. The *tradition* of the Fathers therefore, that *Paul*, when liberated from his bonds, preached the Gospel in the West, seems *utterly uncertain*, and supported by *no firm foundation*, (and, indeed, there are *many* such *ancient traditions*, which are proved by the learned to be either *uncertain* or *false*) : for, it may more truly be collected from *Scripture*, that he revisited the *East*, but did not go to the West."

This scriptural counter-evidence is contained in St. *Paul's* last Epistle, his second to *Timothy*, written after his return from the East to Rome, not long before his martyrdom ; of which he had a strong presentiment :

"I am now *ready to be offered up as a libation ;* (ηδη σπενδομαι), and the time of *my dissolution* is at hand." 2 Tim. iv. 6.

And he afterwards describes his route to *Rome*, from *Miletus*, through *Troas*, and *Corinth*,

iv. 13. 20. His *eastern* journey therefore is unquestionable.

The sole foundation of the prevailing tradition of the *western* journey, is the Apostle's declared intention of visiting *Spain*, after going to *Rome*; and of returning from thence to *Rome* again; Rom. xv. 24—28. Whence it has been too hastily concluded, that he executed his intention. This however was *doubted* by some of the early Fathers.

In the foreground, we may rank *Jerome* himself *. In his commentary on Ephes. iii. 13, he says, "Paul *wished* to go to *Spain*, or certainly *intended* to go thither." And in his book against *Helvidius*, he wrote, "Not that because *Paul wished* to go to Spain, it can from thence be concluded that he *went* thither: since he might have been prevented by various causes, from *perform-*

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* Ut a beato *Hieronymo* initium sumam, videtur is quidem, nonnullis in locis, *dubitanter* de eâ re loqui: nam in tertium caput *Epist. ad Ephes.* super illis Apostoli verbis, "*Propter quod, peto ne deficiatis in tribulationibus,*" &c. aitbeatum *Paulum* "*voluisse ire in Hispaniam,* vel certe *illuc ire disposuisse.*" Et in Libro adversus *Helvidium* scripsit, "*non, ex eo quod Paulus voluit ire in Hispaniam, posse concludi eum ivisse illuc: cum, variis de causis, impediri potuerit ne profectionem illam faceret.*"

Auctor etiam commentariorum in hanc *epistolam ad Romanos,* falso præferens nomen beati *Hieronymi,* in explanando *hunc locum Pauli, quem nunc tractamus,* ait "*incertum esse utrùm Paulus iverit in Hispaniam necne.*" Pererii Diss. p. 2, 3.

ing that journey." And the ancient author of the commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, bound up in *Jerome*'s works, and erroneously ascribed to him, explaining this very passage, (Rom. xv. 24—28), says, "It is uncertain whether *Paul* went to *Spain* or not."

The next is furnished by a learned Pope, *Gelasius*,* A. D. 492.

"It is not to be believed, either that St. *Paul deceived us*, (far be such a supposition!) or that he *contradicted himself;* because, that when he *promised* to go to *Spain*, he was prevented from fulfilling his promise by occupations of *greater moment*, according to the Divine appointment. So far as depended upon his own will, he declared

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* Beatus *Paulus* non ideo (quod absit!) *fefellisse* credendus est, aut *sibi contrarius extitisse*, quod cum ad *Hispaniam* iturum se promisisset, dispositione Divinâ majoribus occupatus causis, implere non potuit quod promisit. Quantum enim ipsius voluntas interfuit, hoc pronunciavit quod revera voluisset efficere: quantum enim ad Divini secreta consilii, quæ, ut homo, omnia non potuit, licet spiritu Dei plenus, agnoscere, supernâ prætermisit dispositione præventus.

Affirmat [insuper] *Gelasius*, Paulum voluisse in *Hispaniam* proficisci, sed minime tunc implesse quod esset pollicitus, quippe qui ad *Romanos* scribens, *se prope diem, simul ac collectam pecuniam, Hierosolymam pauperibus attulisset, Romam venturum, ac subinde in Hispanias proficisci*, decrevisse testatur: Attamen quo minus id prostare potuerit, quas a *Judæis* est passus *Hierosolymis* graves ærumnæ, et quas, *Romæ*, sub *Nerone*, biennio detentus in carcere, fuerint impedimento. Baron. Annal. A. D. 61, p. 617; or Pererius, p. 9.

what he *intended* to perform; but afterwards *omitted*, when he was prevented by the Divine appointment: for no man, however full he may be of the *Spirit of God*, can possibly explore all the *secrets* of the Divine counsel. His severe sufferings, from the *Jews* at Jerusalem, and under *Nero* at Rome, prevented him from *executing* his intention."

And with *Gelasius*, concurs the celebrated *Thomas Aquinas* *, in his note on the same passage (Rom. xv. 24—28.)

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* Beatus *Thomas*, super hoc loco Epistolæ ad *Romanos*, ita scribit: Videtur hoc loco Apostolus *falsum dixisse*, nunquam enim in *Hispaniam* ivisse legitur; quippe in *Hierusalem* captus fuit; et inde, *Romam* in vinculis portatus est, (ut habetur Actorum ultimo) et ibi est occisus simul cum *Petro*. Dicunt ergo quidam, *Paulum, eo 'biennio quo Romæ mansit, traditus custodiæ unius militis,'* tunc ivisse eum in *Hispaniam*. Sed quia hoc *certum non est*, potest melius dici, quod Apostolus *falsum non dixit*, quia tunc volebat et statuebat facturum se quod dicebat. Verba itaque ejus declarant voluntatem et propositum quod tunc habebat, non autem futurum eventum qui incertus erat ipsi. Et ire etiam se excusat apud *Corinthios*, de eo quod non ivisset apud eos sicut promiserat. Sic enim scribit: *Cum ergo volui, numquid levitate usus sum, aut quæ cogito secundùm carnem cogito, ut sit apud me 'est'* et '*non* [*est*]'. Quibus verbis ostendit se, quia justâ ex causâ prætermiserat ire ad *Corinthios*, immunem esse a levitate et falsitate. Atque hoc etiam sensit et tradidit *Gelasius* papa, ut habetur in Decretis, 22 quæst. his verbis: "Beatus *Paulus* non ideo, &c."—Hæc B. *Thomas*. Pericrius, p. 8, 9.

"The Apostle seems in this place to have spoken falsely, for it is no where read, that he went to *Spain;* inasmuch as he was imprisoned at *Jerusalem*, and carried from thence in bonds to Rome, as related in the last chapter of the Acts, and was slain there together with *Peter*. Some therefore say, that, after the two years of his bondage at Rome, he went to *Spain*. But because this is *not certain*, it is better to say, that the Apostle did not speak falsely, because he wished, and resolved to do what he said, *at the time*. His words, then, declare his wish and purpose which he then held, but not the future event, which was unknown to him. And in like manner, he excused himself to the *Corinthians* for not going to them as he had promised, on his return from *Macedonia* to *Jerusalem:* 'When I therefore was *thus minded*, did I use lightness? or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay?' (2 Cor. i. 17.) shewing by these words, that although he had, for a just cause, omitted to go to *Corinth*, yet he was free from the charge of lightness, fickleness, or falsehood."—These valuable counter-testimonies are candidly furnished by the learned *Pererius*, in his *two disputations* upon Rom. xv. 24—28, though an advocate himself for *Paul*'s journey to *Spain*. These dissertations have been lately re-published by the patriotic Bishop

of St. David's; who obligingly favoured me with a copy, for the fuller elucidation of the question at issue.

To the judicious argument of *Thomas Aquinas*, we may add other instances in which the Apostle failed to execute his intentions. 1. At his second visit to *Jerusalem*, A. D. 44, he wished to have preached the Gospel there, but THE LORD forbade him; and ordered him to depart quickly out of Jerusalem, for, said he, "*They will not receive thy testimony concerning me.*" So he staid there only *fifteen* days. Compare Acts xxvi. 17,18, with Galat. i. 18. And see *Hales's New Analysis*, &c. Vol. II. p. 1190, 1191. 2. When *Paul* and his company intended to preach the Gospel in *Lydia* and *Bithynia*, they were prevented by the HOLY GHOST, and sent into *Macedonia*, as affording a richer harvest; while *Bithynia* and the adjacent regions inhabited by the Jews of the *dispersion*, were consigned to *Peter*'s ministry. Compare Acts xvi. 6—10, with 1 Pet. i. 1. And see the *New Analysis*, Vol. II. p. 1221. 3. *Paul* was hindered by *Satan* from visiting the *Thessalonians*, as he intended. 1 Thess. ii. 18.; probably by that "*thorn in the flesh*," or malady "with which he was buffeted by Satan's messenger;" 2 Cor. xii. 11. 4. The LORD declared, personally, and by the spirit, and in vision, that "*Paul* should visit *Rome;* and should testify of him at *Rome*." Acts xix. 21; xxiii. 11; xxvii. 23.

And though the Apostle frequently intended to have gone thither, he was all along prevented by more urgent business. Rom. i. 13; xv. 22. And when he was indeed *sent* thither at last, by the Roman governor *Festus*, it was not without the special appointment of Providence, that he was retained in bonds there for *two* entire years, with liberty to preach the Gospel; and that, with infinitely greater effect in the metropolis of the western world, than he could have done in the remote and uncivilized province of *Spain*. For similar reasons, we may presume, he spent so much time in the capital cities of *Antioch* in Syria, *Philippi* in Macedonia, and *Corinth* in Achaia; because "the LORD had *much people*" of rank and learning, high and low, to be converted therein. Acts xviii. 9—11.

These observations may furnish a sufficient answer to the Bishop of St. David's objection: "The measures of an *ordinary* traveller might have been broken by *such obstacles;* but the Apostle of the Gentiles, who was under the *special protection* of Providence, and was disposed 'to *labour more abundantly* than all the Apostles' —was not likely to be disconcerted by any but *insurmountable obstacles* [from pursuing his intended journey to *Spain*.]" Tracts, p. 43.—But, surely, his long confinement, of four years, at *Cæsarea* and *Rome*, under the special protection

and direction of PROVIDENCE, were *insurmountable obstacles.*

To weaken the powerful evidence of Pope *Gelasius*, the Bishop produces a passage of *Natalis Alexander*, (untranslated,) intimating that "the authority of a *single Pontiff*, writing according to his *private opinion*, is of no avail against so great a cloud of witnesses, to overturn a tradition supported by the testimony of *so many fathers*, in favour of St. Paul's journey to *Spain*." Tracts, p. 80.

But *Gelasius* is not *single*, nor did he merely deliver his *private opinion:* He is ably supported, as we have seen, by *Jerome*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Capellus*, and by the whole tenor of SCRIPTURE; while the testimony of "*so many Fathers*," is proved to be vague, irrelevant, and unsatisfactory.—And the rector of *Killesandra*, indeed, is reluctantly compelled by the weight of evidence, to side with the *Pope*, against a *Protestant prelate*, so distinguished in the *Popish Controversy*.

It is highly probable, however, that, as St. *Peter* was sent to *Bithynia*, in St. *Paul*'s stead; and, after he had discharged his mission there, to *Corinth*, and to *Rome;* so he was likewise sent to *Spain*, during S. *Paul*'s confinement at Rome. This we may further collect from the intimacy subsisting between both; and his capability of fulfilling his *beloved brother Paul*'s intentions:

and also, from the actual introduction of *Christianity*, at *that very time*, into *Spain*; as we learn from the curious monument, found at *Marcosia*, a village of *Lusitania*, or *Portugal*, with this inscription: Noticed in the foregoing *Introduction*, pp. 20, 21.

NERONI CL. CAIS. AUG. PONT. MAX.
OB. PROVINC. LATRONIB.
ET HIS QUI NOVAM GENERI HUM.
SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB. PURGATAM.

"*To Nero Claud. Cæsar Chief Pontiff, Augustus,*
For purging the province of Robbers,
And of [Christians] *who inculcated*
A new Superstition to the Human Race."

Mosheim and others have doubted the genuineness of this monument, as if not sufficiently established on the authority of the first publisher, *Cyriacus Antonianus*, especially as the stone itself is not now to be found; and it is not noticed by any *Spanish* or *Portuguese* writers of eminence. But the style, as justly remarked by *Lardner*, is perfectly similar to that in which *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Pliny*, speak of the *Christian Religion*; which they call "*superstition*," "*a new, pernicious*, or *magical superstition*." And *Peter's* labours in *Spain* probably involved him in the same persecution after his return from thence, as *Paul's* labours at *Rome*.

But the Bishop objects, that "St. *Peter*, in his epistles, takes no notice of his *western* travels." p. 45. To this, it may be answered, that St. *Peter* wrote only two short epistles, and on general topics of Christianity, to the dispersed *Jews* in *Asia*, who had no connexion with, and were uninterested about the *Gentile* converts in the western and remotest part of *Europe*. He had no inducement, therefore, to apprize them of his labours in *Spain*. While, on the other hand, it is most highly improbable, that if St. *Paul* had visited *Spain*, he should not have noticed it, and, during *nine* years of his supposed travels, in his familiar epistles to his confidential disciple, *Timothy*, at least; especially as he is frequently minute and circumstantial in recording his travels.

The Bishop next proceeds to fix the limits of St. Paul's supposed journey to *Britain*. The main branch of his argument, is thus stated:

"*Eusebius* and *Jerome* say, that St. Paul was sent to Rome [by *Festus*] in the second year of *Nero* (A. D. 56); they say also, that he suffered martyrdom in the fourteenth of Nero. (A. D. 68). As he was released in the fourth year of Nero [A. D. 58] (according to *Jerome*, in his account of St. Luke), if he returned to Rome [A. D. 67] the year before his death, there will be an interval of *nine* years [between A. D. 58, and A. D. 67,] a space *quite suffi-*

cient for the Apostle's travels in the east and in the west." Tracts, p. 118, 119.

This hypothesis, originally invented by *Baronius**, exhibits a space much *more than sufficient;* it is *enormous,* outstepping all the sober bounds of *chronological* history; for the following reasons:

1. According to *Josephus,* Ant. xx. 6. 1. *Felix* was appointed procurator of *Judea,* "in the twelfth year of *Claudius,*" (A. D. 52). If, then, Paul was sent to *Rome* by *Festus,* A. D. 56; his trial before *Felix* must have been two years earlier, (A. D. 54), according to Acts xxiv. 27; and, consequently, when *Felix* was only *two* years in office. But this is inconsistent with the Apostle's declaration, that *Felix* was then εκ πολλων ετων κριτην, "a judge of *many years* standing." Acts xxiv. 20.

To parry this fatal objection, the Bishop endeavours to lengthen *Felix's* administration, by assuming, with Bishop *Pearson,* a prior date of the appointment of *Felix,* in the eighth year of

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* Ab eo tempore *libertatis suæ* usque ad *martyrii sui* tempus, amplissimum *annorum* circiter *novem* spatium habuerit *Paulus.* Hujus demum sententiæ nostræ adstipulatorem et probatorem habemus, celeberrimum in hac ætate nostra scriptorem, Cardinalem *Baronium,* non solum cardinalatus dignitate, sed etiam virtutis et doctrinæ præstantiâ, verè illustrissimum. Perierius, p. 7.

Claudius, (A. D. 48); which would give *Felix six* years of office, at the time; and "this might (says he) well be called, εκ πολλων ετων, in A. D. 54." Tracts, p. 40.

Let us examine the evidence for and against this prior date.

It is thus stated by Bishop *Pearson:* Hoc anno (A. D. 48) ineunte, venit in provinciam *Cumanus*, *Judeæ* procurator, et *Felix Samariæ;* (si fides *Tacito*) sed sine jure gladii, ut patet ex historiâ *Josephi*. Annal. p. 8.

Here, the parenthetical remark,—"if credit is to be given to *Tacitus*,"—shews, that the date was adopted with some hesitation by *Pearson:* and no wonder, for nothing can be more vague, perplexed, or discordant, than the account of *Tacitus;* of which Bishop *Burgess* has given but an imperfect extract. Tracts, p. 33, note.

The entire passage is as follows:

(A. D. 52.) At non frater ejus (*Pallantis*) cognomento *Felix*, pari moderatione agebat, *jampridem Judææ* impositus, et cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus, tanta potentiâ (*Pallantis*) subnixo. Sane præbuerant *Judæi* speciem motûs, ortâ seditione [*ob Caii Cæsaris* effigiem in templo locandam]; postquam, cognitâ cæde ejus, haud obtemperatum esset, manebat metus, ne quis principum eadem imperitaret. Atque *interim*, *Felix* intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat; æmulo ad deterrima *Ventidio Cumano*, cui pars

provinciæ habebatur : ita divisis, ut huic *Galilæorum* natio, Felici *Samaritæ* parerent, discordes olim, et tum contemptu regentium minus coercitis odiis. Igitur raptare inter se, immittere latronum globos, componere insidias, et aliquando prœliis congredi, spoliaque et prædas ad *procuratores* referre. Hique primò lætari; mox gliscente pernicie, cum arma militum [*Romanorum*] interjecissent, cæsi milites. Arsissetque bello *provincia*, ni *Quadratus*, *Syriæ* rector, subvenisset. Nec diu adversus *Judæos*, qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum, quin capite pœnas luerent : *Cumanus* et *Felix* cunctationem adferebant, quia *Claudius*, causis rebellionis auditis, jus statuendi etiam de procuratoribus dederat. Sed *Quadratus Felicem* inter judices ostentavit, receptum in tribunal, quo studia accusantium deterrerentur. Damnatusque flagitiorum quæ duo deliquerant, *Cumanus*; et quies provinciæ reddita. Annal. xii. 54.

This is a confused and perplexed abridgment of the intelligent *Jewish* historian's clear and circumstantial detail of the turbulent administrations of *Cumanus* and *Felix*, in *Judea*; of which *Josephus* himself was, in great part, an interested eye-witness: *He* represents the two administrations as successive; but *Tacitus* has incongruously blended both together : neglecting to assign any date to the administration of *Felix*; and only observing, that it was *jampridem*, " a

good while," before the trial of *Cumanus* by *Quadratus*, which he dates in A. D. 52, with *Josephus* At which time, *Felix* was in reality sent to succeed him, in the *twelfth* year of *Claudius*. Ant. xx. 6. 1. *Tacitus*, therefore, furnishes no authority for A. D. 48, as the first date of *Felix*'s administration; and *Josephus* had before assigned it to the appointment of *Cumanus*, in the eighth year of *Claudius*. Ant. xx. 4. 2. On the contrary, *Tacitus* leads us rather to collect, that *Felix* was in office so far back as the "*assassination of Caius Caligula*," the predecessor of *Claudius*, in the year A. D. 40, eight years earlier,—"*cognita cæde ejus*,"—(here supplying the happy conjectural emendation of *Brotier*, to make the sentence intelligible,—*ob Caii Cæsaris* effigiem in templo locandam)—for "the *sedition* at *Jerusalem*" was occasioned by the sacrilegious attempt of *Caligula* to set up his statue in the temple, as fully related by *Josephus*, Ant. xviii. 9. *Tacitus* has also strangely confounded *Judea* and *Samaria*, which he places under *Felix*; and *Galilee*, under *Cumanus*; and he has calumniated *Quadratus*, the president of *Syria*, who justly deposed and banished *Cumanus*, for his misdemeanors of bribery and injustice; in refusing to redress the *Galileans*, who had been assaulted in their way to Jerusalem, at the passover, by the *Samaritans*, from whom he had received money. Ant. xx. 5.—It is strange

how Bishop *Pearson* could hesitate a single moment whether of the twain to prefer, *Josephus* or *Tacitus;* or awkwardly attempt to reconcile them, by fabricating a chronological date for *Felix*'s administration, disowned, we see, by both historians!—The objection, therefore, of the *two* years of *Felix*'s administration subsists in full force, and is ruinous to Bishop *Burgess*'s hypothesis.

2. But further, *Paul* could not have been sent to *Rome*, by *Festus*, so early as A.D. 56; because *Felix* was not deposed before A. D. 61.

Josephus, indeed, has not specified the time of the deposal of *Felix*, for mal-administration, either in his *Antiquities*, or in his *Jewish War*; but it may be collected from the *Life of Josephus*, written by himself.

He relates that he was born in the first year of the emperor *Caius Caligula*, (A. D. 36); that when he was 26 years of age, (A. D. 62,) he undertook a voyage to *Rome*, (in the course of which he was shipwrecked, and in the *Adriatic* Sea, like St. *Paul*) in order to solicit the release of some *Jewish Priests*, his particular friends, who had been sent prisoners to *Rome* to be tried before *Cæsar* by *Felix*, during his administration, for some trifling offence; that he was introduced to *Poppæa*, the wife of *Nero*, by *Aliturus*, a Jew, and stage player, in great favour with *Nero*; and that by her interest, his friends were

speedily discharged; and, in addition to this service, *Josephus* himself was honoured by *Poppæa* with considerable gifts, before his return to his own country. Life, § 1—3. And we learn from *Tacitus*, that *Poppæa* was actually married to *Nero* in that same year, A. D. 62. confirming the date of *Josephus*; as judiciously remarked by the Bishop himself. "The time of *Josephus*'s journey is defined, both by the age of *Josephus*, and by the intercession of Poppæa, who was not married to Nero *till the year* 62." Tracts, p. 39.

Hence, we may date the deposal of *Felix* about A. D. 61, the year before the voyage of *Josephus*. *Felix*, at first, after his deposal, was screened from the punishment due to his crimes, by the interest of his brother *Pallas*, then in high favour with *Nero*: but the tyrant, "wearied out with the great age of *Pallas*, and impatient to get possession of his immense wealth," (*quòd immensam pecuniam longâ senectâ detineret*. Tacit. Annal. xiv, 65.) contrived to poison him, in A. D. 62. Before which event, it would not have been safe or prudent for *Josephus* to have ventured to solicit the release of his friends at *Rome*.

To this decisive testimony, the Bishop objects: "*Nero* pardoned *Felix*, when *Pallas was most in favour*, (τοτε μαλιστα δια τιμηςεχων εκεινον); words that designate a *very early* period of *Nero*'s reign,

rather than a late: for *Pallas* was dismissed from power in his second year, and tried for high treason in the third; and *must* have continued out of power till *Agrippina*'s death, in the fifth or sixth year. In the eighth, he was put to death." Tracts, p. 32.—But this consequence does not necessarily follow after *Agrippina*'s death. For though *Pallas* was tried, he was honourably acquitted, and his accuser convicted of falsehood. But, adds *Tacitus*, "his *innocence* was not so agreeable [to the public] as his haughtiness was disgusting," (nec tam grata *Pallantis innocentia*, quam gravis *superbia* fuit.) Annal. xiii. 23.—And Bishop *Pearson* also successfully combats this objection, by remarking, that the death of *Agrippina*, the paramour, and the imperious patroness of *Pallas*, now that he was stripped of power himself, removed the sole cause of *Nero*'s dislike; nor is there any further account of *Nero*'s being offended with *Pallas*. Whence *Pearson* draws a quite contrary conclusion from Bishop *Burgess*; "nempe Neronem *non nisi diu* post *initium* imperii sui Pallantem *in pretio habuisse*." That "*Nero* did not hold *Pallas* in *estimation*, until *long after* the beginning of his reign." *Pearson Annal.* p. 17, 18.—The Bishop also incidentally objects to the epithet given by *Josephus* to *Poppæa*, "*pious*," (θεοσεβης) as utterly "inconsistent with her character for adultery, murder, and the most atrocious cruelty." Tracts, p. 31.

But it was not on this occasion, that *Josephus* so styled her: it was on another; for preventing the profanation of the temple at Jerusalem, by *Agrippa*'s palace overlooking it. To obstruct his view, the Jews built a high wall; which *Agrippa* and *Festus* wanted to pull down; but *Nero* permitted it to stand, in order to *gratify* his wife *Poppæa;* who, in this instance at least, might not unreasonably be styled, θεοσεβης. Ant. xx. 7, 11. However, we admit it to be improbable that "she was among St. *Paul*'s converts to *Christianity*, at *Rome;*" as the Bishop justly objects.

If, then, *Felix* succeeded *Cumanus* in A. D. 52, and was deposed in A. D. 61, it follows that he was *seven* years in office at the time of *Paul*'s trial, in A. D. 59; which agrees still better than the Bishop's hypothesis with the Apostle's observation, that he was then "a judge of *many years* standing." But further,—

3. If St. *Paul* was sent to *Rome* so early as A. D. 56, the epistle to the *Romans* must have been written A.D. 53, or A.D. 54, according to the *Magdeburgh* history, *Capellus*, and *Dodwell*, followed by the Bishop in his Tracts, pp. iv. v.

But this earlier date of the epistle, would *unsettle* all the dates of the preceding epistles, and throw back the first written, (which is generally allowed to have been the epistle to the *Galatians*,) to A. D. 45, or A. D. 46.

Whereas, it is agreed by the Commentators, that it was written *after* the first council at *Jerusalem*, in A. D. 49, which is the date assigned to that council, by *Petavius*, *Pearson*, *Barrington*, *Lardner*, *Michaelis*, *Paley*, and *Hales*. See *New Analysis*, &c. Vol. II. p. 1108, 1109, 1110.

The combined influence of all these reasons, assuredly produced the later dates assigned to the epistle to the Romans, by *Simson*, A. D. 55; *Pearson*, and *Whitby*, A. D. 57; *Barrington*, *Lardner*, *Michaelis*, and *Hales*, A. D. 58; *Usher*, and the *Bible Chronology*, A. D. 60. The variations abundantly evincing, that these Chronologers did not servilely copy from each other, nor were biassed by favourite hypotheses. Of these varying dates, the mean, A. D. 58. will be found the most probable; and, it shall be further established in the course of the ensuing section. If, then, we assume the correcter date, A. D. 58, it will necessarily bring St. *Paul*'s voyage to Rome, to A. D. 61, precisely the same year resulting from the foregoing indpendent arguments.

4. In the last place, St. *Paul*'s supposed return to Rome from *Spain*, cannot be placed so low as A. D. 67. For, by the joint testimonies of *Lactantius*, *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, and *Isidore*, in the foregoing introduction, concurring with the Apostle's presage during his second imprisonment; (noticed, as we have seen, in his second epistle to Timothy;) he was put to death by *Nero*, in

his general persecution of the *Christians*. But the date of this persecution is fixed by *Tacitus*, to the year A. D. 65. Annal. xv. 33, 34; which is precisely the year in which *Metaphrastes* dates his martyrdom, as shewn in the Introduction, p. 20.

From this chain of connected evidence, we seem abundantly warranted to reduce the enormous supposition of *nine* years, within the narrower bounds of *one*, or *two* years, at the utmost, between the Apostle's release and departure from *Rome*, about the end of A. D. 63, or beginning of A. D. 64; and his return from his eastern expedition, and his martyrdom, A. D. 65. And, if so, it was morally impossible that he could visit *Spain*, and still less *Britain*, after that return; at a period too, when travelling was neither so convenient nor so expeditious as in the present age. To borrow an expression from the Tracts, with a slight alteration:—"This space has been *greatly enlarged*, by an *unfounded Hypothesis, resting altogether on conjectures*;" whereas the *narrower* space, here assigned, may justly be entitled to rank as a *Theory*, built upon the substantial foundation of *Scripture*, *History*, and *Chronology*:—*a Scientific* Chronology, which, I trust, will be more approved of daily,* the bet-

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* *Opinionum commenta* delet dies; Naturæ judicia confirmat. "*The fictions of Hypotheses*, daily lapse of Time defaces; but confirms *the judgments of Nature*."—CICERO.

ter it shall be understood, in all its harmonizing branches of *Sacred* and *Profane History*;—and stand the test of ages.

Hence, we may safely conclude, that Christianity WAS NOT planted in the *British* isles by any of the Apostles themselves, St. *Paul*, *Peter*, *John*, or *Simon Zelotes*; NOR by the fore-named assistants, *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Aristobulus*, &c.

By *whom*, then, WAS it planted?—The solution of this curious and important inquiry is reserved for the two next Sections.

SECTION II.

INTRODUCTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN.

AMONG the venerable *British* documents, referred to by the Bishop of St. David's, are the letters of *Gildas*, about A. D. 546; *Bede*'s works, A. D. 700; and the *British Triads* in the *Myvyrian Archæology*.

1. *Gildas*, in his querulous book, *De excidio Britanniæ*, third chapter *De subjectione*, relates the easy conquest of Britain by the *Romans*, after subduing the rest of the world. Cap. 4.

De Rebellione, he states the rebellion of the *Britons*, and their massacre by the Romans; when an army, sent over by the Senate, reduced them again under subjection, with scarcely any resistance. Cap. 5. *De secunda subjectione* et *duro famulatu*, he relates the complete reduction of the Island into a *Roman* province, and its consignment to the administration of Roman Governors; who ruled the Britons with great severity, scourging them with the rod, and punishing them, if necessary, with the sword: and they coined gold and silver monies there, with *Cæsar's* image.

Then follows cap. 6. *De Religione:* of which the following is a transcript, taken from Gale's edition of xv. *Scriptores*, 1691, Oxon. collated with several earlier editions of *Gildas*, and more correctly pointed.

Interea, glaciali frigore rigenti *Insulæ*, et velut longiore terrarum secessu, *soli visibili* non proximæ, VERUS ILLE SOL, non de firmamento temporali, sed de summâ etiam cœlorum arce, tempora cuncta excedente, *universo orbi* præfulgidum sui lumen ostendens; *tempore*, ut scimus, *summo Tiberii Cæsaris*; (quo, absque ullo impedimento, EJUS propagabatur RELIGIO: comminatâ, senatu nolente, a principe morte delatoribus militum ejusdem) radios suos, *primum* indulget, id est, sua præcepta CHRISTUS.

"In the *mean time*, to our [northern] frozen *Island* [*of Britain*], withdrawn, as it were, to a

considerable distance from the *visible sun*, CHRIST, THE TRUE SUN [OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, Mal. iv.,] not from the temporal firmament but from the highest and eternal summit of the heavens, *first* indulges his rays, or his precepts; shewing his most glorious light to the *whole world*, about *the end*, as we know, of *Tiberius Cæsar's* reign; at which time, HIS RELIGION was propagated [at *Rome*], without any hindrance: this prince, without the concurrence of the Senate, having threatened death to the informers against HIS *soldiers*, [or *militant* followers."]

In this highly figurative, involved, and obscure passage, whose *full meaning* it is no wonder that so many antiquaries have hitherto failed to develop, the author quaintly contrasts the natural coldness of *Britain* from its high *northern* climate, with the moral warmth produced in the hearts and lives of its heretofore *pagan* inhabitants, by the bright beams, or precepts, of *Christianity*; which first began to be preached to the *whole world*, immediately after our Lord's crucifixion, on the auspicious day of *Pentecost*, in the seventeenth year of *Tiberius*, A. D. 31; and soon after was propagated at *Rome*, by the "*Roman sojourners*," (Acts, ii. 10,) we may presume, before the end of his reign, A. D. 36, without any opposition on the part of this prince; who, on the contrary, rather favoured it, and threatened to put the informers against the *Christians*

to death, though without the concurrence of the Senate."

The favourable disposition of *Tiberius* toward Christianity, and the indisposition of the Senate to support him therein, are mysteries best explained, perhaps, by *Tertullian*, in the following incidental narrative: "*Tiberius*, in whose time the *Christian* name [or religion] had its rise, having received information from *Palestine*, in *Syria*, of the truth of Christ's divinity, proposed to the Senate that he should be enrolled among the *Roman Gods*. But the Senate rejected the proposal, because the emperor himself had declined the honour of deification. Notwithstanding this, Cæsar still persisted in his opinion, and threatened the accusers of the Christians with punishment." This account is highly probable: the emperor, in all likelihood, was informed by *Pilate* *, his procurator at *Jerusalem*, of the stupendous miracles attending our Lord's crucifixion and resurrection; the præternatural darkness, the earthquake, the vision of angels at the resurrection to the *Roman* guard at the sepulchre, &c. And, under such circumstances, this pagan emperor might naturally have followed the example of his predecessors, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Darius* the *Mede*,

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**Justin Martyr*, in his *first Apology* for Christianity, A. D. 140, appealed to "the *Acts* made in the time of *Pilate*" to prove his assertions. About the year 307, the Pagans forged *Acts of Pilate*, injurious to the *Christian* Faith. These *spurious* acts prove the prior existence of the genuine,

when they were appalled by the *prophecies* of the God of *Israel*, revealed through *Daniel*; and he might have issued a decree similar to theirs, threatening destruction to all that should speak against "JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS," according to *Pilate*'s superscription on the cross.

The exact time of the introduction of Christianity into *Britain* is not specified by *Gildas*. It may be collected, however, from the first word, *interea*, "in the mean time," (evidently having a retrospect to the preceding fifth chapter,) to have taken place during the *second subjection* of the *Britons*. This second subjection commenced from the defeat and captivity of *Caractacus*, the British prince, as we learn from *Tacitus*. He informs us, that *Caractacus*, king of the *Silures*, was defeated by *Ostorius*, the Roman proprætor in Britain, A. D. 50; and that, after his defeat, he was betrayed to the conquerors by *Cartismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, to whom he had fled for refuge, and was carried captive to *Rome*, but was released, with his wife and brothers, by the clemency, or the policy, of the emperor *Claudius*; who was moved, it is said, by a pathetic speech of *Caractacus*, made for him by the Roman Historian. Annal. xii. 33—37.

The conditions of his release, omitted by *Tacitus*, are fortunately supplied by the *British* Historians. From the *Archæologia Myvyriana*,

Vol. II. p. 63, under the article of *Triad* 35, of the *three blessed kings of Britain, Bran, Lleirwig,* (*Lles* or *Lucius*) and *Cadwallader*, translated from the original *Welsh*, by *Roberts*, in his *Collectanea Cambrica*, Appendix, p. 293; we learn the following curious particulars respecting the first of them:

" *Bran*, the son of *Llyr* (*Lear*) *Llediarth*, first brought the knowledge of the Christian Faith to the *Cymry* (*Cambri*) from *Rome*, where he had been *seven* years, as a hostage for his son *Caradoc* (*Caractacus*), whom the Romans had made captive; after he had been betrayed, by treachery, into an ambush laid for him by *Aregwedd Freddawg* (*Cartismandua*)."

A fuller description of the war of *Caractacus* with the Romans, and of the treachery of *Cartismandua*, is furnished by an old Monkish historian, *Ricardus Corinensis*, in his geographical work *De situ Britanniæ*, Lib. I. 6, 23, which is published, along with *Gildas Badonicus*, and *Nennius Banchoriensis*, by *Bertram*, in his neat edition of these three historians, 8vo. *Havniæ* (*Copenhagen*,) 1757.

" Olim ac diu potens erat hæc *Silurum* regio: Sed cùm eam tenuit *Charaticus* (*Caractacus*), longè potentissima. Hic, continuis *novem* annis, omnia Romanorum arma pro ludibrio habita, sæpe evertit; donec de illo, conjunctis viribus, *Romanos* aggressuro, triumphavit legatus *Ostorius*.

Charaticus enim, prælio evadens, auxiliumque a vicinis regibus petens, per astutiam matronæ, *Romanæ, Cartismanduæ,* cum rege *Brigantiæ Venusio* nuptæ, Romanis deditus est. Post id temporis, mascule tantum suam ipsius ditionem idem ille populus defendens, usque dum a *Varionio* spoliatus, ac tandem a *Frontino* devictus, in formam *Romanæ* (cui *Britanniæ Secundæ* nomen erat) provinciæ, suum redigi pateretur."

This curious and valuable document, critically harmonizing with, and explaining the foregoing testimonies of *Gildas. Tacitus* and the *British Triad,* 1. satisfactorily accounts for the treachery of *Cartismandua,* as being "a *Roman* matron, the wife of *Venusius* king of the *Brigantes.*" 2. It specifies the reduction of the western province by *Frontinus*, called *Britannia Secunda,* consisting of *Wales*, *Cumberland,* and a great part of *Cheshire*, inhabited by the *Silures*, *Ordovici*, and *Dimetæ,* as we learn from the intelligent *Rowland, Mona Antiqua*, p. 134, 146. And we learn from *Tacitus,* that *Julius Frontinus* finally reduced the powerful nation of the *Silures* under the Roman yoke, about A. D. 77.

Bran, the father of *Caractacus*, was left at *Rome*, as hostage for his son, A. D. 50, according to *Tacitus;* and, after seven years residence there, returned to *Britain*, in A. D. 57, according to the *Triad.* He was accompanied by three teachers of Christianity, as we learn from the

Cambrian Biography, namely, *Arwysth* the Old, *Cyndaf*, and *Iliol*. Of these, *Iliol* is expressly said to have been an *Israelite* (or *Jew*), and to have converted many of the *Britons*. *Cyllin* the son, and *Eigen* the daughter of *Caractacus*, are also recorded to have been Christians. *Eigen*, in particular, is noted as the first female Saint among the *Britons*. Mr. *Roberts* thinks it not improbable, that she was the *Claudia* of St. Paul, (2 Tim. iv. 21.) "who so far interested herself in improving the literature of her native country, as to send thither the works of the *Roman* writers." *Usher*, Bishop *Burgess*, Tracts, p. 132.

From *Gildas*, we may also collect the time employed by *Bran* and his missionaries in converting the *Britons*; namely, during the interval of twenty years, between *Bran*'s return, A. D. 57, and the final conquest of *Britain*, by *Frontinus*, A. D. 77. (See *Tacitus*' Life of *Agricola*, c. 17, 18.) This is more credible than the contracted limit of three years, from the return of *Bran*, till the defeat of *Boadicea*, A. D. 61, according to the conjecture of Bishop *Burgess*, Tracts, p. 23.

But who converted *Bran* and his associates to Christianity, at *Rome*? It could not possibly be St. *Paul* himself; whose epistle to the *Romans*, A. D. 58, was written from the east, the year after *Bran*'s return home. The epistle itself, however, furnishes a satisfactory clue to the

solution of the question.—Among the *Saints* whom the Apostle salutes, then resident at *Rome*, —the leaders are "*Priscilla* and *Aquila*, and the *Church* in their house:" who, for their *zeal* and success in propagating the Gospel, were "entitled to the *thanks of* St. *Paul* himself, and of *all the Churches of the Gentiles.*" And they appear to have been settled at Rome, for some time, as the Apostle's *fellow-labourers* in Christ," Rom. xvi. 3—5, at *Rome*, as they had been before at *Corinth*, Acts xviii. 2, 18; and at *Ephesus*, Acts xviii. 24—26. It is remarkable, that *Priscilla* is usually ranked before her husband *Aquila*, in all but the first of the foregoing passages, and also, 2 Tim. iv. 19.; probably as being more zealous and successful than her husband in making proselytes.

And accordingly, we find some illustrious converts among the *Roman* ladies, noticed at this very season by *Tacitus*. He records the trial of a noble *British* matron (*Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius*, the Roman proprætor in Britain; who obtained an *ovation*, (or inferior *triumph*) on his return to *Rome*, A. D. 57. "This *distinguished woman* (insignis fœmina) was arraigned on account of the *foreign superstition*, [as *Christianity* was then styled at *Rome*,] and permitted to be tried by her husband, according to ancient custom. He therefore, in the presence of her relations, tried her

cause, in which her *life* and *character* were at stake, and pronounced her innocent." Annal. xiii. 32. This celebrated trial, in which other Christian converts at Rome might naturally have been implicated, happened in the year A. D. 57; and the news of it might easily have reached St. *Paul* in *Syria*, at the time he wrote his epistle to the Romans, A. D. 58; and if so, we find therein a marked allusion to this very trial, in his warm and affectionate congratulation to the *Saints* at *Rome:* "I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, *for you all*, that *your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world.*" Rom. i. 8.—From *Britain*, to *Syria*. Can there possibly be a stronger confirmation, from internal evidence, than this *incidental* circumstance, to confirm the date A. D. 58, assigned to the Epistle to the *Romans*, in *Hales' Chronology?*—Surely, Bishop *Burgess* can no longer object thereto.

From the foregoing chain of evidence we seem authorized to infer, that the founders of the *Gentile* Church at *Rome*, were *Priscilla*, and *Aquila*; and that among the most distinguished of their disciples, were *Pomponia Græcina*, *Bran*, and his associates, who planted the Gospel in *Britain*, from A. D. 57, to A. D. 77.

The second of the blessed kings of *Britain*, according to the *Triad* 35, was St. *Lleirwig*, *Lles*, or *Lucius*, the son of *Coel*, the grandson of St.

Cyllin, and the great grandson of *Caractacus*. He was surnamed *Lleufor Mawr*, "the great scholar," and built the Church of *Llandaff*, the first in Britain. He granted constitutional privileges to the Christians, and established the validity of their oaths, [when they swore on the *Gospels*, according to their custom.] He, therefore, may justly be considered as the establisher of Christianity in Britain.

Various have been the dates assigned to his reign. The monks of *Llandaff*, in their zeal to promote the credit and the interest of the Church and See of *Rome*, attribute the conversion of *Lles* or *Lucius*, to sundry popes, *Euaristus*, A. D. 100; *Alexander I.* A. D. 109; or *Eleutherus*, A. D. 177: but the two former are rejected by his pedigree; for if he was the great-grandson of *Caractacus*, he most probably flourished a century after him. The prevailing report, that he died A. D. 181, is highly probable, on *Chronological* grounds. And if so, he was contemporary with *Eleutherus*. That an intimate connexion, indeed, subsisted between the British Church, and the primitive Church at Rome, from which it was descended, is perfectly natural; but if the letter said to be written by *Eleutherus* to *Lucius* be genuine, (and it never has been disproved) the popes of that early age made no pretensions to universal supremacy over the sister Churches. This early Bishop of Rome

congratulates the British monarch, "for establishing the Church in *Britain*;" and he styles *Lucius*, "the *Vicar of Christ* in his own dominions; whose bounden duty it was, to *preserve his subjects, and the Church, in the unity of the Faith and Law of Christ.*" Thus candidly and freely acknowledging the absolute *independence* of this prince and his Church upon the Church and See of *Rome*; and giving *Lucius* the title of *Vicar of Christ*, which was constantly retained by the *British* kings, and their successors, the *Saxon*, down to *William* the Conqueror; but afterwards usurped by the *Popes*.

The querulous *Gildas* confirms the foregoing account of the establishment of Christianity in *Britain*, immediately after his account of its introduction.

Quæ (præcepta Christi,) licet ab incolis tepidè suscepta sunt, apud quosdam tamen integrè, et alios minus, usque ad *Diocletiani* tempora permansere.—"The precepts of Christ, though warmly received by the natives at first, continued to be observed in various degrees; by some entirely, by others partially, until the times of *Diocletian*'s persecution," A. D. 303-313,—the last of the Ten Roman persecutions, but the first in which the *British* Church was molested for their religion. Usher Britann. Eccl. Antiq. p. 141. For hitherto, it had been the policy of the Roman Government rather to favour *Chris-*

tianity in opposition to *Druidism*; which, from its inveterate hostility to the *Roman* yoke, was persecuted with unrelenting severity; and an edict was actually issued for its extirpation; as may be seen in Archbishop *Parker*'s collection.

It is the peculiar glory of *Britain* to have given birth to the first Christian emperor of the *Romans, Constantine* the Great. His father, *Constantius,* married *Tiboen,* the daughter of *Coel Godhebog,* king of *Britain,* or the pious and munificent empress *Helena,* as she was called by the Roman writers, the mother of *Constantine.* And *Constantius* was first proclaimed emperor, at *York,* by the *Roman* army serving in Britain. Under *Constantine* the Great, the British Church was highly favoured, and enjoyed distinguished privileges. The Synod at *Arles* in *Gaul,* which he summoned A. D. 314, was attended by three British prelates; *Ivor,* of *York*; *Restitutus,* of *London*; and *Adelphius,* of *Caerleon.* The Council of *Nice,* A. D. 325, was also attended by the British prelates; and shortly after, the British Church expressed their formal approbation of the *Nicene* Creed, in a letter to *Athanasius* and the *Alexandrine* Bishops. They attended the Council of *Arminium* or *Rimini,* A. D. 359. And two years after they magnanimously refused the emperor *Constantius*'s offer of a maintenance, wishing to support their independence upon any foreign power. See *Tyrrel's History of England,*

p. 90; *Usher*, Eccles. Brit. pp. 173—192; *Stillingfleet*, Orig. Brit. p. 74, 89, 135.—*Cyneddon* the Great, grandson of *Coel Godhebog*, who died A. D. 389, is said in the *Triads* to have been the first *British* king, who endowed the Church with *lands*. One of his sons founded the Abbey of *Glastonbury*.

These were the halcyon days of the *British* Church; under the fostering protection of the *Christian* emperors, it enjoyed temporal prosperity. But when the *Roman* empire fell a prey to the barbarous hordes of the *Huns, Goths*, and *Vandals*; whose repeated invasions and dreadful ravages at length compelled the emperors to withdraw their troops from the Island, for home defence, A. D. 411, the year after, *Rome* was taken by the *Goths*, and soon after to abdicate the Island. Thus the *Britons* recovered their liberty from the *Roman* domination.

Their emancipation is thus expressed in the *British Triads*:—" The third oppression was that of the *Cæsarians*; who harassed the Island for more than four hundred years, [from *Julius Cæsar*'s invasion] till their return to *Rome*, to oppose the irruption of the *black horde*; from whence they never returned to this Island. Nor did any of them remain behind, in the island, save the women and little children under nine years of age; and these became *Cymry*, [*Cambri*, or *Britons*.] *Triad* 3.

The northern *Huns* of the *Crimea*, who ravaged *Europe*, are here denominated the *black horde*, from their swarthy complexions; by which they were distinguished from the *Weise Gothen*, *Visigoths*, or "*White Goths*," who invaded the eastern empire and *Persia:* as we learn from *De Guigne's Historiegen, des Huns*, Vol. II. p. 325, in *Roberts'* early history of the *Cymry*, or ancient Britons, pp. 122, 123.

But the *Britons* did not long enjoy the blessings of liberty and independence. They were constantly harassed by their turbulent neighbours, the *Picts* and the *Scots*. The *Picts* seem to have been originally "a *Scythian* colony who came from *Scandinavia*, across the *Northern* Sea," as we learn from *Triad* 7. And from several of the early writers, *Adso*, *Prosper*, &c. we learn that *Ireland* was called *Scotia major*; and *Albania*, or *Scotland*, *Scotia minor*, from an early colony of the *Milesians*, or Irish *Scoti*, who settled at *Dalriede* in Scotland; and uniting with the Caledonian *Picts*, and being constantly recruited by fresh emigrations from *Ireland*, at length gave their name to the entire region, of which, at first, they occupied only a small corner.

The *Picts* and *Scots*, no longer restrained by the *Roman* arms, so harassed the miserable *Britons*, in their weakened state, after they had sent over the flower of their youth to assist the *Roman* emperors against the *Huns* and the *Goths*;

that in an evil hour they invited the Saxons to their aid, against their troublesome neighbours. At first the *Saxons,* with a considerable force under *Hengist,* came to their assistance; but afterwards turned their arms against their employers, and gradually subdued the *Britons* themselves; and drove them, at length, into the rugged and mountainous district of *Wales.*

During this disastrous and turbulent period of war and oppresion by their neighbours, the Britons were governed by the following dynasty of their native Princes. See Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, p. 58—61.

Vortigern . A. D.	425	*Vortiporeus* . A. D.	578
Aurelius Ambrosius	466	*Malga*	581
Uther Pendragon	498	*Careticus*	586
Arthur	508	*Cadwan*	613
Constantine	542	*Cadwalin*	635
Aurelius Cunanus	545	*Cadwalader* . . .	676

About fourteen years after the abdication of the *Romans, Vortigern* first assumed the government, and was afterwards appointed king of Britain, A. D. 448. He unwisely called in the *Saxons* to his assistance, against the *Picts* and *Scots,* A. D. 449. The *Saxons* first established themselves in *Kent,* A. D. 457; and by degrees founded the other kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy. *Vortigern* was slain, at length, by *Aurelius Ambrosius,* who obtained the crown,

Aurelius was succeeded by his brother *Uther Pendragon*; and *Uther*, by his son, the celebrated *Arthur*, so famed for his military exploits. He defeated the *Saxons* in no less than twelve battles; the last and bloodiest of which, was fought at *Badon hill*, A. D. 530, and gave the *Britons* some respite. *Constantine*, Duke of *Cornwall*, succeeded his uncle *Arthur*. But in the reign of his successor, *Aurelius Cunanus*, the *Saxons* at length succeeded in driving the *Britons* out of England, into *Wales*, A. D. 577. And about a century after, finally subdued them, A. D. 688, in the reign of *Kadwalader*, after many severe engagements, in which *Luthar*, king of *Kent*, and *Ethelwold* king of the *West Saxons*, were slain. *Kadwalader* was the last of the three blessed kings, in the Triad before mentioned; who was sainted, because "he granted the privilege of his land, and all his property, to the *Faithful*; who fled from the infidel *Saxons*, and from the *unbrotherly ones*, (or unconverted *Britons*) who sought to slay them;" and gave them an asylum in his territories.

After his defeat, *Kadwalader* retired for refuge to his cousin *Alan* king of *Armorica*. The monkish writers say that he went to *Rome*, turned monk, and died there. But the other account is more probable. He was, however, a pious prince, and built the church of *Llan Kadwalader*, as noticed by *Rowland*, p. 188, 189. His posterity

succeeded him, as Princes of *Wales*, down to *Rodric* the Great, who reigned over all Wales, A. D. 843.

Notwithstanding the wars and troubles of this dynasty, the splenetic representations of *Gildas* of the vices of the *Britons*, and the persecutions of the *Saxons*, Learning and Religion both seem to have maintained their ground in *Britain*. The *Pelagian* Heresy, which denied *Original Sin*, introduced, about A. D. 405, by *Pelagius* a British monk, was checked by *Germanus*; who, at the request of the *British* Divines, came over for that purpose, from the *Gallican* Church. *Germanus* and *Lupus* appointed *Dubricius*, Archbishop of the Church in Britain, A. D. 530; *Mauritius* a British Bishop was present at the Council of *Tours*, A. D. 461. And *Paulinus*, a scholar of *Germanus*, settled in the isle of *Wight*, about A. D. 484, and devoted himself to the study of Sacred *Literature*. Among his pupils were *Dewy* of *Mynin*, or *David* of *Meneva*, or St. *David's*; *Teilo* or *Teilavus*; and *Padarn*, or *Paternus*. Of whom the first founded a collegiate monastery at St. *David's*; the second, another, at *Llandaff*; and the third, at *Llanbadarn*. They all went on a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem* together, and were honourably received by the Patriarch there; who gave them appropriate gifts: to *Paternus*, for his fine singing, a pastoral staff, and a choral cap of the richest silk; to *David*, for performing

the service more plainly than the rest, a rich altar of unknown materials; and to *Teilo,* "a curious bell, which sounded every hour, without being touched." (i. e. a watch or clock) as recorded in the book of *Llandaff.* See *Robert's Appendix.* And the fame of these Pilgrims is thus celebrated in *Triad* 19. "The three *blessed guests* of *Britain,* were *Dewi, Padarn,* and *Teilo.* They were so called, because they *visited* the houses of rich and poor, native and foreign; accepting neither money, nor meat, nor drink; but teaching the Christian Faith to every one without fee or reward. On the contrary, they distributed money, food, and clothing to the poor."

Such was the pure and primitive Religion, and discipline that prevailed among the *Britons* for the first five centuries. In the sixth, and seventh, they strenuously opposed the errors and corruptions, and usurpations of the Church and See of *Rome,* when attempted to be introduced by the emissaries of *Pope Gregory I.* or the Great, *Austin* the Abbot, and his associates; as shall be shown in the sequel.

SECTION III.

INTRODUCTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

ALTHOUGH *Ireland* was never invaded by the *Romans*, it soon attracted their notice, after they had established themselves in *Britain;* and they formed plans for its subjugation likewise; which were frustrated only by the irruption of the *Northern Horde*, which furnished more than sufficient employment for their troops at home. This we learn from *Tacitus*, in his *Life of Agricola*, c. 23, 24.

He there informs us, that *Agricola*, having driven the enemy, in his third campaign, A.D. 80, into *Caledonia*, beyond *Clota* and *Bodotria*, or the rivers *Clyde* and *Forth*, as it were into *another island*, spent his fourth campaign, A.D. 81, in securing his conquests, by a chain of forts, stretching across the narrow isthmus, of not more than thirty miles across; beginning at *Dunbarton*, westward, and extending eastward to *Arthur's* Oven, near the firth of *Forth*; the ruins of which are described in *Gordon's* Itinerary, p. 20, 21. In his fifth campaign, A.D. 82, *Agricola* crossed the æstuary of the *Clyde*, or gulph of *Dunbarton*,

in the *first* Roman vessel ever seen in those seas. In the mean time, his army marched over the isthmus, probably near *Dunbarton,* and after several successful engagements, making a rapid progress through *Argyleshire,* he advanced to the sea coast, *in sight* of *Ireland;* which he occupied with a body of troops, rather with a view to future conquest there, than from any fear of being attacked from thence. He saw, that *Ireland,* lying midway between *Britain* and *Spain* *, and convenient to the *Gallic* sea, if united with them, would compose the most powerful part of the *Roman* empire, by their great mutual advantages of *commercial* intercourse. *Ireland,* Tacitus observes, is less than *Britain,* but larger than any of the islands in the *Mediterranean* sea. Its soil and climate, the genius and manners of the natives, differ not much from *Britain;* its coasts and harbours, however, are better known to [foreign] traders and merchants, [than those of *Britain* †.] After this description of the country,

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* *Medio* inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita.—This is inaccurate; for Ireland is much nearer Britain than Spain, and shows how ignorant the Romans were of that island, even in *Tacitus's* time.

† Solum cœlumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a *Britannia* differunt: melius aditus portusque per commercia et negociatores cogniti. *Brotier,* in his notes, supplies the ellipsis, by [quam interiora]; intimating, that

he relates, that one of their *petty kings* having been expelled in a domestic sedition, was kindly

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the coasts and harbours of Ireland were better known to merchants in general, than the interior parts. But this is a truism. It is better supplied here in the text, according to the ingenious interpretation of Dr. *O'Conor*:—*Tacito* testante, maritima *Hiberniæ*, negociatoribus notiora esse quam *Britanniæ*: id certe, non de negociatoribus *Romanis*, quorum nulla erant cum Hibernis commercia, sed de *alienis* dictum esse; ipsa Taciti de Hiberniâ ignorantia demonstrat. *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Antiqui*, Vol. I. Proleg. I. p. 45.

These *foreign* merchants were the *Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Spaniards,* and *Grecians*, who, from the earliest times, carried on a considerable commerce with the British isles, for tin especially, and other articles; and gave them in exchange many curious and valuable commodities, in gold and silver utensils, linens, cloths, dyes, purple, &c. as appears from the gold and silver ingots, double-headed *pateræ*, or censers for incense, *bracelets, necklaces, diadems,* &c. of considerable value, which have been repeatedly found from time to time in the deepest bogs, and in the sacred caves and caverns, or cemeteries throughout Ireland; and especially in the Southern parts, first visited by the *Phœnicians*. See Gen. *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis,* Vol. VI. Part I. and II.

The *Phœnicians* studiously concealed the route of this lucrative traffic from the *Greeks*, and *Romans*, as long as they could. *Strabo* relates, that the Romans once followed a *Phœnician* vessel bound from *Gades* to the *British* isles, in order to discover these marts themselves: but the captain of the vessel, jealous of their design, purposely ran his ship on

received by *Agricola*, and under the appearance of friendship was retained for future service, on a favourable occasion. I have often, says *Tacitus*, heard from him, that *Ireland might be subdued, and held by a single legion and a moderate auxiliary force:* And that *this would further tend to keep Britain in awe, if the Roman arms prevailed every where, and liberty was removed, as it were, out of sight.* But *Agricola*, having been re-called to *Rome*, in A.D. 85, by *Domitian*, jealous of his military fame after the entire reduction of *Britain*, the opportunity of invading *Ireland*, at that time, was lost, and never occurred again.

This curious account of *Tacitus* is confirmed by the *Irish Annals*. From them we learn, that this refugee Chieftain was no other than the celebrated *Tuathal*, surnamed *Teashtmar*, and by a Roman name, *Bonaventura*, the son of *Fiacha* V. of the race of *Heremon*, who succeeded to the monarchy of Ireland in A.D. 73. *Fiacha*, in the seventh year of his reign, A.D. 80, was treacherously massacred at a public banquet in *Connaught*, with his principal nobility of the *Milesian* race, by the plebeian *Firbolgs*, (*Viri Belgæ*,) headed

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a shoal, in order to lead his followers into the same disaster. And having returned home after his shipwreck, he was repaid out of the public treasury, for the loss of his cargo; Proleg. I. p. 240.

by *Cairbre,* who usurped the throne. Fortunately, the young prince *Tuathal* escaped their fury, and fled for refuge to his grandfather by the mother's side, the king of the *Picts* in *Albania,* or *Caledonia.* There, he was naturally induced to apply to the Roman power for aid to re-instate him in his dominions. And, perhaps, to persuade *Agricola* the more readily to espouse his cause, he might have represented the facility of subduing, and even retaining, *Ireland,* with so small a force, upon the prospect of being powerfully supported by the *Irish* loyalists against the rebels; otherwise, the boast would be absurd: for, at this very time, the army, employed by *Agricola* against the *Caledonians* alone, consisted of near 30,000 men, namely, three *Roman* Legions, 8,000 auxiliary *Britons,* and 3,000 cavalry. And, accordingly, when *Tuathal's* application for aid at *Rome,* whither he attended *Agricola,* failed, (and whom the historian *Tacitus,* son-in-law to *Agricola,* might often have seen and conversed with) *Tuathal,* at length, was re-called by his adherents; the Irish nation being weary of the tyranny of *Cairbre* and his successors, and harassed by civil wars between the contending nobles and plebeians; and thus, without any foreign aid, he defeated the rebels, and recovered his crown, A.D. 95.

Tuathal appears to have been a wise and politic prince, who profited by his *Roman* education,

under the accomplished *Agricola*. On his accession, he assembled the general assembly of the *Irish* States; revived the ancient constitutions of the realm, and restored the refugees to their estates, of which they had been dispossessed by the rebels during the usurpation. After a long and turbulent reign of thirty years, *Tuathal* was defeated, and slain by *Mal*, king of *Ulster*, who succeeded him as monarch of *Ireland*, A.D. 125. *Mac Geoghegan's Histoire de l'Irlande*, p. 123—130.

The knowledge of Christianity was early introduced into *Ireland* also. From the joint evidence of *Franciscus Irenicus*, *Constantine Ghinnius*, *Adso*, &c., writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, noticed in *Ussher's* Primordia, p. 738—747, we learn, that an Irishman of noble family, called *Mansuetus* by his Christian name, became a disciple of St. *Peter*; who sent him to preach the gospel in *Lorraine*; where he was appointed the first bishop of *Toul*; and was afterwards canonized in the eleventh century by Pope *Leo* IX. who had been himself bishop of that See. His life was written, about the same time, by *Adso*, the Abbot, who prefixed the following verses to the work:

Protulerat quondam generosum *Scotia* natum
Mansuetum.————
Inclyta *Mansueti* claris natalibus orti
Progenies, titulis fulget in orbe suis:
Insula *Christicolas* gestabat *Hibernia* gentes,
Unde genus traxit, et satus unde fuit.

This prevailing *tradition* tends to support St. *Peter's* visit to *Spain*, in St. *Paul's* stead; while it derives confirmation from thence, in turn. We know that a considerable intercourse subsisted of old, between the *Spains* and *Ireland;* and, at this day, the marked resemblance of the natives of the South of *Ireland* to the *Spaniards*, in dark complexions, hair, and dress, strongly indicates their descent. Supposing, then, that St. *Peter* preached the gospel in *Spain*, about A. D. 64, it is by no means improbable, that among his converts might be found some *Irish* traders or travellers; of whom he might have sent the most zealous and intelligent, to supply his place, and propagate the gospel in the adjoining region of *Gaul*, which he had not time to visit in person, previous to his return, and martyrdom at Rome, A.D. 65. Nor is it likely, that during his pious labours in *Lorraine*, *Mansuetus* neglected his native country. We seem warranted, therefore, to conclude, that *Christianity* might have been introduced into *Ireland*, by the disciples of *Mansuetus*, not long after his own conversion. And the foregoing verses of *Adso* indicate this; in which, "the posterity of *Mansuetus* are represented as flourishing in *Scotia*, *or Hibernia*; and the *Christian* worship, as prevailing among the tribes of his native country."

That *Christianity* indeed obtained an early footing in *Ireland*, we may collect, from *Tertul-*

lian's testimony, p. 73, that "even the regions of the *Britons*, inaccessible to the *Romans*, were converted to CHRIST in his time, (about the end of the second century.) For *Ireland* was then the only one of the *British* isles, into which the *Roman* arms had not penetrated.

From the *Irish* Annals, about A.D. 400, it further appears, that several *Christian* Churches had been founded in the South of Ireland, by the Irish Saints, *Kieran*, *Ailbe*, *Declan*, and *Ibar*; viz. at *Ardmore* and *Lismore* and *Emly*, in *Munster*; and at *Ossory*, and *Beg-Erin*, in *Leinster*; but great part of the South, and the whole of the North and West provinces were still *pagan*, at that period.

How early and closely a connexion subsisted between the *British* and *Irish* Churches, may appear from the prevalence in both, of the noted *Pelagian* heresy, denying the doctrine of *Original Sin*, and the necessity of *Divine Grace*, soon after it was first broached, in A.D. 405. *Pelagius*, its author, was a *British* monk, of *Bangor*, in *Wales*, who had been the disciple of *Faustus* the *Manichean*; and his principal associate was *Ceallagh*, or *Celestius*, a *Scot*, or *Irishman*, of noble family, who propagated his master's tenets with great ability and success. Their doctrine was received at *Rome*, at first, favourably, by Pope *Zosimus*, A.D. 417, though afterwards rejected; and it was first condemned in the Council

of *Ephesus*, A.D. 418. When the *Goths* invaded Italy, and approached Rome, *Pelagius* and *Celestius* retreated to *Africa*. From thence, *Pelagius* proceeded to *Jerusalem*, where he was patronized by the Patriarch *John*; but *Celestius* remained behind, and was violently opposed by the Latin Fathers, *Augustine*, *Jerome*, *Orosius*, &c. And this controversy long disturbed the peace of the Eastern and Western Churches; and seems to be revived by the *Socinians*, and *Sabellian-Unitarians* of the present age. *Jerome* inveighs against it with great bitterness, as the *pultis Scotorum*, "the pottage of the *Irish* *." He compares

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* The vehemence of *Jerome's* zeal against those *Irish* heretics transported him to brand the whole nation as *cannibals*, in the following strange passage. Libro Secundo contra *Jovianum*:

Quid loquar de *cæteris nationibus* [anthropophagis], cum ipse *adolescentulus*, in *Galliâ* viderem *Scotos*, gentem *Britannicam*; humanis vesci carnibus, et cum per sylvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudumque reperirent, pastorum nates, fæminarumque papillas abscindere, solitos, et eas solas delicias arbitrari!

"Why need I speak of *other* [cannibal] *nations*, when I myself, then a *little boy*, in *Gaul*, saw the *Scots*, a *British* nation; who are *accustomed* to feed on human flesh, and when they find herds of swine, of cattle, and of sheep, in the woods, to cut off the buttocks of the herdsmen, and also the paps of women, and to count them their chief dainties."

Here, Jerom does not say, (as usually misunderstood, and

Pelagius to *Pluto*, the king of Hell, and *Celestius* to his dog *Cerberus*; whom he styles "one of the disciples of *Pelagius*, or rather his master; and the *leader of the whole host*." *Orosius* calls *Pelagius* "*Goliah*, most highly inflated with pride, attended by *Celestius*, as his armour-bearer, who supplies all the weapons of brass and iron." And *Augustine* charges "*Pelagius* with being more cunning," but admits, that "*Celestius* was more open;" he acknowledges his genius and eloquence; and he gives some extracts from the *Definitiones*, or *Breves Ratiocinationes* of *Celestius*, which

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even by Dr. *O'Conor*, from mispunctuation of the passage, Cum — viderem *Scotos*, gentem *Britannicam*, humanis vesci carnibus?)—that "he actually saw these *Scoti feeding* on human flesh," (in which case, the original should be *vescentes*; not the infinitive, *vesci*, which is governed by the following participle *solitos*.) He only says, that in his childhood, he saw some of that nation in *Gaul*; and then applies to them the invidious remark of the credulous *Pliny* the elder, touching the *Scythians*:——esse *Scytharum* genera, et quidem *plura*, quæ corporibus humanis vescerentur. "That there are tribes of *Scythians*, and *several*, indeed, which feed on human bodies." Lib. vii. c. 2.—Because the *Scoti* were *Scythæ*, or of Scythian origin, *Jerom* instantly transferred to them this idle tale of *Pliny*; who classes the *Scythians* in general among the fabulous *Cyclops* and *Læstrygons*, the fictitious *Arimaspians*, *Gorgons*, and *Harpies* of the poets, *Homer*, &c. See *O'Conor Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Antiqui*. Vol. I. Prol. I. p. 74, 75.

show that he was a very acute disputant, well versed in the *Socratic* method of argument. *

"Before all things," said he, "the person who denies that man can be *without sin*, should be questioned, What is sin? Can it be avoided, or not? If it cannot be avoided, it is not sin; if it can, surely a man may be without sin, that may be avoided: for neither reason nor justice admit, that what can by no means be avoided, should be called sin."

"Further, we are to inquire whether sin be *voluntary*, or *necessary?* if necessary, it is not sin; if voluntary, it may be avoided."

"God certainly is just: this is undeniable. But

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* Ante omnia interrogandus est qui *negat hominem sine peccato esse posse*, quid sit peccatum? Quod vitari potest, necne?——Si quod vitari *non* potest, peccatum non est; si quod vitari potest, potest homo sine peccato esse quod vitari potest. Nulla enim ratio vel justitia patitur saltem dici peccatum quod vitari nullo modo potest.

Iterum quærendum est: peccatum *voluntatis*, an *necessitatis* est? si necessitatis est, peccatum non est; si voluntatis est, vitari potest.

Et hoc dicendum est: certe justus est Deus; negari enim non potest. Imputat autem Deus homini omne peccatum; et hoc quoque confitendum puto, quia neque peccatum est, quicquid non imputatur in peccatum; et si est aliquod peccatum quod vitari non possit, quomodo justus Deus dicitur, si imputari cuiquam creditur quod vitari non possit? Proleg. I. p. 73.

God imputes to man every sin; and this, I think, must be admitted, that whatever is not imputed as sin, is not sin. And if there be any sin that cannot be avoided, how can God be called just, if we believe that what cannot be avoided should be imputed to any one?"

The ablest opponent, perhaps, to be found of this arrogant and presumptuous heresy, was the countryman and contemporary of *Cælestius*, the celebrated *Sedulius*; who flourished in the reign of *Theodosius* the Great, about A. D. 430, to whom he addressed a latin poem. He is thus described by *Trithemius*; see *Usher's Primordia*, p. 769.

"*Sedulius* the presbyter was a *Scot*, (or *Irish*) by nation. In his youth he was a disciple of *Hildebert* archbishop of the *Scoti*. He was well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and skilled in profane learning; he excelled both in poetry and prose. Quitting *Scotia* through love of literature, he went into *France*, and travelled through *Italy*, *Asia*, and *Achaia*; from whence, at last, he returned to *Rome*, and was greatly admired for his wonderful erudition. He wrote several works in verse and prose. Among the latter, a comment on St. *Paul's* Epistles, entitled, *Sedulii Scoti Hibernensis, in omnes epistolas Pauli collectaneum*, Basil, A. D. 1528. Of this excellent work several valuable extracts are adduced by

primate *Usher* in his *Religion of the ancient Irish* and *British*, Chap. 2. &c.

He thus exposes the sophistical arguments of *Cælestius* on *Free-will.**

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* 1. Præcedit *bona voluntas* hominis multa Dei dona, sed non omnia; quæ autem non præcedit ipsa, in eis est et ipsa. Nam utrumque legitur in sanctis eloquiis, "et *misericordia ejus præveniet me,*" "*et misericordia ejus subsequetur me:*" nolentem prævenit, ut velit; volentem subsequitur, ne frustra velit. Cur enim admonemur, "*petere ut accipiamus,*" nisi ut ab illo fiat quod velimus? Sedul. in Rom. ix.

2. Nullus *electus* est ita magnus quem *Diabolus* non audeat accusare, nisi illum solum qui "*peccatum non fecit;*" qui et dicebat, "*nunc venit princeps hujus mundi, et in me nihil invenit.*" Sedul. in Rom. viii.—"*Non est qui facit bonum;*" hoc est perfectum et integrum bonum. Sedul. in Rom, iii. Ad hoc nos elegit [Deus], ut essemus sancti et immaculati in futurâ vitâ; quoniam "*Ecclesia Christi non* habebit *maculam neque rugam:*" licet, etiam in præsenti vitâ, justi et sancti et immaculati, quamvis non ex toto, tamen ex parte, non inconvenienter dici possunt. Sedul. in Ephes. 1. Non enim jam "*regnat peccatum in eorum mortali corpore, ad obediendum desideriis ejus,*" quamvis *habitat* in eodem mortali corpore *peccatum*; nondum extincto impetu consuetudinis naturalis quâ mortaliter nati sumus, et ex propriis vitæ nostræ: cum et *nos ipsi peccando* auximus quod ab *origine peccati humani* damnationis trahebamus. in Ephes.v.

3. Vocatione Dei, non merito facti. In Rom. i. *Secundum virtutem est quæ operatur in nobis,* non secundum merita nostra. In Ephes. iii. Sciendum est, quia omne quod habent homines a Deo, *gratiâ est*, nihil enim *ex debito* habent. In Rom. xvi.

1. " Man's *good will* precedes many gifts of God, but not all; and of those which it does not precede, itself is one. Both [*preventing* and *furthering grace*] are recorded in Holy Writ: '*His mercy shall go before me,*' [Psal. lix. 10,] and '*His mercy shall follow me,*' [Psal. xxiii. 6.] It prevents the unwilling, that he may will; and it furthers the willing, that he may not will in vain. For why are we admonished to '*ask that we may receive,*' [Matt. vii. 7, 8,] unless that what we will may be done by Him, through whose operation, we so willed?" In Rom. ix.

The *necessity* of assisting grace, he further shews, from the imperfect obedience even of the best men.

2. " There is none of the *elect*, though ever so great, whom the Devil dares not to accuse, but Him alone '*who did no sin,*' [1 Pet. ii. 22,] and who also said, '*Now cometh the prince of this world, and in me findeth nothing* [*amiss,*' John xiv. 30,] in Rom. vii.—'*There is none that doeth good,* that is to say, perfect and entire good.' In Rom. iii.—" God's *elect* shall be perfectly holy and spotless in the life to come; where '*the Church of Christ shall have no spot nor wrinkle,*' [Ephes. v. 27;] however, even in the present life, they may not improperly be called just, and holy, and spotless, though not entirely, but partly. In Ephes. i.—' Then only shall the just man be altogether without sin, when there shall be no *law in*

his members warring against the law of his mind,' [Rom. vii. 23;] for though '*sin reign not now in their mortal body,'* [Rom. vi. 12,] yet '*sin dwells* in the same mortal body,' [Rom. vii. 17,] the force of that natural custom not being extinguished, which we derived from our *mortal origin,* and encreased by our actual transgressions." In Ephes. v.

The *sufficiency* of God's grace to supply the deficiency of human merit, he thus states:—

3. "We are *Saints* by the *calling* of God, not by the *merit* of our conduct: for 'GOD is able to do exceeding *abundantly, above what we ask or think; according to the power that worketh in us,'* [Ephes. iii. 20,] not according to our merits," in Ephes. iii.—for we must know, that whatever men have of God, is of *grace;* because, '*they have nothing of debt,'* [Rom. iv. 4; xi. 6,] in Rom. xvi.

How profoundly skilled, indeed, *Sedulius* was in the abstruse doctrines of *Predestination, Grace, Free Will, Faith, Works, Justification,* and *Sanctification,* discussed in St. Paul's epistles, may be inferred from the clearness, conciseness, and appositeness of the foregoing remarks; critically comparing Scripture with itself, according to the *Analogy of Faith.* He was, indeed, an honour to his country, and a prime luminary of the orthodox Church, in his age; fully on a par with the most celebrated of his contemporaries, *Jerome,*

Augustine, &c.; and his *Collectaneum* is worthy of re-publication, as a standard comment on St. Paul's epistles, even at the present day. Surely the country that produced such scholars as *Celestius* and *Sedulius*, at that early period, could not be so "*barbarous*," as misrepresented by *Jerome*, *Prosper Aquitanus*, &c.

Pelagianism was early repressed in the *British* isles. The celebrated *Germanus* and *Lupus* were expressly invited by the *British* divines, to assist at the Synod of *Verulam*, held at St. Alban's, A.D. 446, where they confuted the *Pelagian* tenets. These, upon their revival afterwards, were refuted by St. *David*, of *Mynin*, or *Menevia*, at the synod of *Brefi*, in *Wales*, A.D. 519, and occasionally, by their successors. *Asser*, of *Menevia*, the Historian of King *Alfred*, A.D. 893, thus excellently remarks *, that "God is the inciter of all *good wills*, and also the most bountiful Provider, that the good things desired may be had; for He would never incite any one to *will well*, unless He also bountifully supplied that which every one well and justly desires to obtain."

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* Omnium bonarum voluntatum instigator; necnon etiam ut habeantur bona desiderata largissimus administrator; neque enim bene velle aliquem instigaret, nisi et hoc, quod bene et juste quisque habere desiderat, largiter administrarent. *Asser*. de rebus gestis *Alfridi R.*

It was repressed, also, from time to time, in Ireland, by St. *Patrick*, his disciples, and their successors. The learned *Claudius Scotus*, about A.D. 815, one of the reputed founders of the University of *Paris*, in his excellent Commentary on the New Testament, of which the manuscripts are preserved in *Bennet's* College, and *Pembroke Hall, Cambridge*, declares, " It is evident to all the wise, though contradicted by heretics, that *no one can live upon earth, without the stain of some sin* *."

The missions of *Germanus* and *Lupus* to Britain, and of *Palladius* and *Patrick* to Ireland, are ascribed by *Prosper* of *Aquitain*, who died about A.D. 456, in his Chronicle, and by his continuators, *Marianus Scotus*, and *Sigebert*, to the pious zeal of Pope *Celestine*, " to keep the *Roman* island [*Britain*] Catholic, [or orthodox,] and to make the *Barbarian*, [*Ireland*,] Christian †."

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* Quia (quod omnibus sapientibus patet, licet hæretici contradicant) nemo est, qui sine adtactu alicujus peccati vivere possit. *Claud.* Lib. 2, in Matt.

† 1. *Prosper's* testimony is contained in the following passages:

In *Chronico*, Anni 429. *Agricola* Pelagianus, *Severiani* Episcopi Pelagiani filius, ecclesias *Britanniæ* dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupit; sed ad actionem *Palladii* diaconi, Papa *Cœlestinus*, *Germanum* Antisiodorensem (*Auxerre*) episcopum, *vice suâ*, mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis, *Britannos* ad *Catholicam* fidem dirigit.

In *Chronico* An. 431. Ad *Scotos* in Christum credentes,

But the interference of Pope *Celestine* in these missions may well be questioned, and denied, for the following reasons:

1. The *Monkish* writers in general, through

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ordinatur a Papa *Cœlestino Palladius*, et *primus episcopus* mittitur.

In Libro contra *Collatorem*. Nec segniore curâ (*Cœlestinus*) ab hoc morbo *Pelagiano Britannias* liberavit.—Et ordinato *Scotis* episcopo, dum *Romanam* insulam [*Britanniam*] studet servare *Catholicam*, fecit etiam *barbaram*, [*Hiberniam*,] *Christianam*.

2. *Marianus Scotus*, who became a monk at *Cologne*, A.D. 1056, thus continues *Prosper's* account:

In Chronico A.D. 432. Ad *Scotos* in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa *Cœlestino Palladius* primus episcopus missus est. Post ipsum, S. *Patricius*. Fuit genere *Brito*, a Papa *Cœlestino* consecratus, et ad Archiepiscopatum Hibernensem mittitur. Ibi, per annos XL. (verius LX.) signis atque mirabilibus prædicans, totam Insulam *Hiberniam* convertit ad fidem.

3. *Sigebert*, a *French* Prior, who died A.D. 1112, thus enlarges both accounts:

Cœlestinus Papa ad *Scotos* in Christum credentes *Palladium* mittit primnm episcopum. Postquam, ad eosdem, ab eodem *Cœlestino*, missus est S. *Patricius*, genere *Brito*, filius *Conches*, sororis S. *Martini* Turonensis; qui in baptismo quidem dictus est *Suchat*; a *Germano*, *Magonius*; a *Cœlestino* vero *Patricius*: a quo Archiepiscopus *Scotorum* ordinatus, per LX. annos, signis, sanctitate, doctrinâ excellens, totam insulam *Hiberniam* convertit ad Christum.

These authorities are given by *O'Conor*.—*Rerum Hibernicarum*, &c. Prol. i. p. 76, 77; Prol. ii. p. 111.

their implicit devotion to the See of Rome, took every opportunity of magnifying the influence and jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, over her sister Churches. But *Platina*, in his Lives of the Popes, takes no notice of these missions, in his History of *Celestine*. And, indeed, *Celestine*, during his turbulent Pontificate, A.D. 422-432, when *Rome* was in possession of the *Goths*, who overran Italy, could have had little leisure or inclination to attend to the religious concerns of *foreign* nations, when his own existence and authority were at stake.

2. *Palladius* is said by *Prosper* to have instigated *Celestine* to send *Germanus* to quell the *Pelagian* heresy in Britain. But *Dupin* describes *Palladius*, as "a friend of *Rufinus*, a favourer of *Pelagius*, and an adversary of St. *Jerom*."—Such a procedure, therefore, would have been inconsistent with his principles. And St. *Patrick* himself takes no notice of *Celestine;* but declares, that "he was ordained *Bishop* in *Ireland* *;" and

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* *Patrick* thus begins his Epistle to *Coroticus*:—

Patricius peccator, indoctus scilicet, *Hyberione* constitutum *episcopum* me esse, fateor. Certissime a Deo accepi id quod sum. Inter *barbaros* itaque habito, proselytus et profuga, ob *amorem* Dei. Here *Patrick* expressly asserts, that he was ordained *bishop* in *Ireland*, (*Hyberione,*) not for *Ireland*, (*Hyberioni,*) and ascribes his mission or apostolate to God only, not to the *Pope*.

expressly ascribes his mission thither to a divine vision, or impulse. In which he is followed by his disciple and panegyrist *Fiech*, as we shall see in the sequel.

3. None of the succeeding Popes notice *Celestine's* interference with the Church of Ireland: neither the ambitious *Gregory* I. A.D. 591, who first attempted to bring the independent *British* and *Irish* Churches under his jurisdiction, but in vain; nor the imperious *Hildebrand*, or *Gregory* VII. who freely acknowledged the full establishment of the Irish Church and State in his Brief*, directed to "*Tirlagh*, the illustrious king of *Ireland*, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Nobles, and Christians inhabiting *Ireland*," dated A.D. 1080; nor the rapacious *Adrian* †, who, in his

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* *Terdelnacho* inclyto regi *Hiberniæ*, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Proceribus, omnibusque *Christianis* Hiberniam habitantibus.

† *Adrian's* bull is given by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Matt. Paris*, &c., and lately, by Bishop *Burgess*, with a corrected Translation. See, also, *Leland's History of Ireland*, Vol. I. page 8.

The claims of the Church of Rome are thus expressed:—Sane *Hiberniam* et omnes *Insulas* quibus sol justitiæ illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ acceperunt, ad jus B. *Petri* et Sacrosanctæ *Romanæ* Ecclesiæ, (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit,) non est dubium, pertinere.

And the Bull hypocritically exhorts *Henry* to inculcate *morality*, and to *plant Christianity*, (*i. e. Popery*,) in Ire-

bull of A.D. 1156, granted the sovereignty of *Ireland* to *Henry* II. of England, upon condition of the payment of *Peter's* pence in *Ireland*, which never had been paid before; alledging the absurd claim, that "*Ireland*, and all other *islands*, were under the jurisdiction of St. *Peter* and the Holy *Roman* Church." But is it likely, that these artful and well-informed Pontiffs would have omitted to avail themselves of the apposite and important precedent of Pope *Celestine*, had they any such to produce? They did not, because they could not.

St. *Patrick's* existence, however, and his mission, have been idly impeached as fabulous, by some modern sceptics, *Ryves*, *Maurice*, and *Ledwich*, objecting, 1, the silence of *Platina*, respecting his mission by *Celestine:* 2, the absurd, ridiculous, and extravagant miracles ascribed to the Saint, by his later historians, *Nennius*, *Probus*, *Joceline*, and *O'Sullivan;* each of them outstripping his predecessor in the wildness of their fictions, in proportion as they receded from the fountain head, the simple and sober accounts of St. *Patrick* himself. Thus, *O'Sullivan*, the latest, has foisted

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land. Stude gentem illam *bonis moribus informare*, et agas, (tam per *te*, quam per *alios*, quos ad hoc, fide, verbo, ac vitâ, idoneos esse perspexeris) ut decoretur ibi *Ecclesia* [*Romana*,] *plantetur* et crescat *fidei Christianæ Religio.*

into his life a long account of St. *Patrick's Purgatory;* of which, *Joceline, Probus, Nennius,* and *Fiech* never heard, and the Saint himself never dreamed.

But to the reality of St. *Patrick's* existence, and mission, we have the most abundant and satisfactory evidence; resting not solely on written *records,* but on universal *tradition* also. A tradition vouched by the many remarkable places that still retain his name from time immemorial, in *Great Britain* and *Ireland.* The havens, where he embarked, *Port Patrick,* and where he landed, *Ennis Patrick;* the Churches and Monasteries which he founded, or built, *Ard Patrick, Down Patrick, Domnach Patrick,* &c.; the mountains which he visited, *Cruagh Patrick,* &c.; the Episcopal Sees which he founded, *Ardmagh, Clogher,* &c.; and the general persuasion of his successful mission, throughout Christendom; which have furnished employment for upwards of *sixty* writers of his life; all together indisputably evincing both his existence and his celebrity.

The written records that establish it, are the genuine remains of St. *Patrick;* 1st, His *Confession,* or *Epistle to the Irish* *, giving an account of the leading circumstances of his life and mission;

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* St. Patrick's *Confession,* or *Epistle to the Irish,* is republished entire in the *Appendix* to this Essay, No. III.

written shortly before his death. It is very obscure, composed in bald Latin, frequently ungrammatical and unintelligible; but has been evidently corrupted by the ignorance of transcribers, in many places; and he modestly apologizes for its imperfections, as being not written in his native tongue, but in a *foreign* language (Latin), the niceties or elegancies of which he never had leisure to study, Confess. Sect. 3; but the natural and unaffected simplicity pervading the whole, the profound humility and self-abasement, the ardent piety, zeal and charity that animate it, worthy, indeed, of an *Apostle*, furnish internal evidence of its authenticity, the most satisfactory and convincing. He wrote also an Epistle to *Coroticus*, (*Charaticus*, or *Caractacus*,) a Gallican Prince, in confederacy with the unconverted *Irish*, censuring his invasion of *Ireland*, in the course of which he slew, and carried into captivity multitudes of the Irish Christians; and deprecating his ill treatment of them in the most tender and affectionate strain of pity and compassion. These Epistles were first published by *Ware;* and to Dr. *O'Conor* we are indebted for a more correct republication of them lately, in his elaborate work, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Antiqui*, Vol. I., 4to., 1813, Proleg. I., p. 105—113, from two of the oldest *Irish* MSS., the *Cottonian*, of 800 years standing, and the *Armagh*, of 1000.

Fiech, his disciple, was, after his conversion, appointed by *Patrick*, Bishop of *Sliebhte*, or *Sletty*, a mountainous range in the district of *Leix*, now the *Queen's* County, in *Leinster*; where he built a famous monastery, called *Domnach Fiech*, after himself; the ruins of which are still subsisting, about a mile Northward of the town of *Carlow*. Not long after St. *Patrick's* death, A.D. 493, and early in the sixth century, he wrote a Poetical *Hymn*, or Panegyric on St. *Patrick*, in Irish verse; one of the oldest reliques, perhaps, of the Irish language, abounding in antiquated terms, but deservedly admired for its simplicity and elegance, and still more for its orthodoxy, when properly explained. It was first published by *Colgan* in his *Triadis Thaumaturgæ*, 1647, or Lives of St. *Patrick*, *Columba*, and *Bridget*, with a Latin translation annexed; and has been recently re-published in the *Rerum Hibernicarum*, Prol. I., p. 90—96, from one of the most antient Irish MSS. the *Donnegal*; with a new Latin translation by Dr. *O'Conor*, amending the old one in several places, where it was either faulty or unintelligible. The original text of the Hymn, and an English translation of *O'Conor's* Latin version, are given in the *Appendix* of this Essay, No. IV: both, I trust, will prove more satisfactory to *Irish* and *English* Scholars and Divines, than *Colgan's* Irish text, and the English translation of *Patrick Lynch*, subjoined to a

small *Life of St. Patrick*, published by Fitzpatrick, Dublin, 1810.

Patrick begins his *confession* with an account of his country and parentage and captivity, after describing himself in terms of the profoundest abasement and humiliation.

"I *Patrick* a sinner, the most rustic, and the least of all the faithful, and the most contemptible with most people, had for my father *Calpurnius* a deacon formerly, the son of *Potitus* a priest, who was in the village of *Banavan*, belonging to *Tabernia*; for he had a cottage in the neighbourhood where I was captured. I was then nearly sixteen years old. But I was ignorant of the true God, and therefore was led away into captivity, with so many thousand men because we departed from God and kept not his commandments, and were disobedient to our priests who admonished us of our salvation; wherefore the Lord brought upon us the anger of his indignation, and dispersed us among many nations even unto the end of the earth; where now my littleness is seen among aliens." Confess. § 1.

Fiech, in his Hymn, states this with some variation.

Patrick was born at *Nemthur*,
As related in stories;
A youth of *sixteen* years,
When carried into captivity,
Succat was his name among his own tribes;

Who was his father, be it known:
He was son of *Calphurnius*, and *Otide*,
Grandson of the Deacon *Odisse*."

The family name of the Saint was *Succat*, signifying in *Irish*, "prosperous in battle," according to the *old scholiast* on the Hymn about A. D. 570. He was afterwards named *Magonius* when ordained a deacon; and finally *Patricius*, when consecrated a bishop. His mother *Otide* was otherwise called *Conches* or *Conchessa*, the sister of St. *Martin*, bishop of *Tours;* and *Odisse*, his grandfather, is called *Potitus* by St. *Patrick* himself: in those early times, before *celibacy* was imposed upon the *Clergy*, by the superstition and policy of the modern Church of *Rome*. He was a *North Briton* by birth, born A. D. 372, near the village of *Banaven* in *Tabernia*, a district bordering on the western or *Irish* sea, where the *Roman* army had formerly encamped, or pitched their "*tents*" (*tabernæ*) and therefore within the *Roman* pale. *Fiech* calls his birth-place, *Nemthur*, signifying according to the old scholiast, "the heavenly (or lofty) rock," and the same as *Al Cluid*, "the rock of *Cluid*," near *Dunbarton*. *Nemthur* is by *Patrick Lynch* unskilfully rendered "holy *Tours*," supposing that *thur*, the latter part of the name, was derived from the Latin *Turris*, "a tower;" but, as judiciously observed by *O'Conor*, it seems rather to be of *oriental* descent (Prol. i. p. 98.) I suppose, from the Hebrew or Phœnician,

צור *Tsur*, "a rock," whence *Tur*, or the city of *Tyre*.

After the *Britons* had sent the flower of their youth to *Italy*, in the service of the tyrant *Maximus*, who never returned home, the country was left a defenceless prey to their restless and ruthless neighbours, who, seizing the opportunity, invaded *Britain* on both sides, the *Scoti* or pagan *Irish*, from the west, and the *Picts* or *Caledonians* from the north, in A. D. 388, and cruelly ravaged the land. This first devastation is noticed by *Gildas*,* and lasted for several years, in a succession of annual incursions. During this, *Patrick*, in his sixteenth year, was carried captive into *Ireland*, and sold to a petty prince of *Dalaradia* in the county of *Antrim*, *Milcho* and his three brothers, who employed him to take care of their cattle. Hence he was called *Cothraig*, as serving four families; from *Ceathar* four, as we learn from *Fiech*.

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* *Gildas* notices this first devastation in the following terms, *O'Conor* Prol. i. p. 84.

C. xi. p. 12. Exin *Britannia*, omni armato militi, militaribusque copiis [destituta], rectoribus linquitur immanibus [nempe *Scotis* et *Pictis*]; ingenti juventute spoliata, quæ comitata vestigiis supradicti tyranni (*Maximi*) domum nunquam ultra rediit; et omnis belli usus ignara penitus, duabus primum gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis, *Scotorum* a circione, *Pictorum* ab aquilone, multos stupet, gemitque per annos.

N. B. The splenetic *Gildas Badonicus* was probably an *Irishman*; as will be shewn in the next section.

"His adopted name was *Caithraige*,
Because he served four tribes."

Patrick thus describes his employment during his servitude. Confession § 5.

"Every day I fed the cattle, and frequently in the day I prayed. My love of God, and my fear of him, increased more and more. My faith was enlarged, and my spirit was strengthened; insomuch that I said in the day full a hundred prayers, and nearly as many in the night. I remained in the woods and on the mountain; and before it was light, I was roused to prayer by snow, frost, and rain; but I felt no inconvenience, nor was there any slothfulness in me, as I now see, because then the spirit burned within me."

Six years he continued in servitude, and thus describes his deliverance in A. D. 394.

"One night in a dream, I heard a voice saying unto me, *Thou fastest well, and shalt return quickly to thine own country. Lo, thy ship is ready.* It was not nigh, but about two hundred miles off. I never had been there, nor had I any acquaintance there among the people; yet I turned myself to flight, and left the man with whom I had passed six years. So I went in the power of THE LORD, who directed my life to good, fearing nothing, until I came to the ship. And that day in which I arrived, the ship unmoored from her station, and I applied for a passage with them. But it displeased the master, and he answered

sharply with indignation, *In vain do you wish to go with us.* So when I heard this I left them to go back to the hut where I lodged; and on the way I began to pray, but before I could finish my prayer, I heard one of them crying out loudly after me, *Come quickly, for these men call thee;* and immediately I returned to them, and they began to say unto me, *Come, for we receive thee faithfully; enter into friendship with us, according to thy desire:* so that day I rejected flight, for the fear of God. Nevertheless I hoped that they would say unto me, *Come in the faith of Jesus Christ;* because they were *gentiles.* Thus, I succeeded with them, and immediately we set sail; and the third day after, we reached land; and for twenty-eight days we travelled through a desert, and provisions failed them, and we were oppressed with hunger. And one day the master began to say unto me, *Christian, what sayest thou? Thy God is great and all-powerful, why then canst thou not pray for us, since we are in danger of perishing with hunger? for we can scarcely expect to see any man* [*to relieve us*]. Then I said plainly unto them, *Turn ye faithfully, and with all your heart, to* THE LORD OUR GOD, *for to him nothing is impossible:* and [I will pray unto him] *to send you food on your way, even to fulness; for to Him it abounds every where.* And with God's help so it happened; for lo, a herd of swine appeared on the way before our eyes, and

many of them they killed. And there they remained two nights, well refreshed, and were relieved with their flesh; for many of them had fainted, and were left half alive by the way. After this, *they gave the greatest thanks to God, and I was honoured in their eyes.* And from this day forth, they had food in abundance. They also found *wild honey*, and offered me a share. But one of them said, '*This is an offering to our God, thanks to him.*' After that, I did not taste it." Confess. § 6, 7. To this circumstance *Fiech* alludes:

"The food of the *Gentiles* he ate not."

It is remarkable that *honey* was prohibited to be offered in sacrifice to God, Levit. ii. 11; probably, because it was so used by the Heathens, in their sacrifices to their idols.

"The same night," St. *Patrick* relates, that he was grievously oppressed with the *night-mare*, which he, rather superstitiously, considered as "a temptation of *Satan*;" but that he was relieved at sun-rise by crying out *Elias, Elias*, with all his might, at the suggestion of the Holy Spirit; when the sun shone upon him brightly, and immediately dispelled all his oppression." Confess. Sect. 8.

This excepted, there is nothing in the whole simple and unvarnished tale, that exceeds the sober bounds of credibility.

"Again," proceeds *Patrick*, "not many years after, I suffered another captivity. And so it was,

that the first night of my stay with them, I heard a Divine Response, saying unto me, *Thou shalt be two months with them;* which so happened, for on the *sixtieth* night, the LORD delivered me out of their hands." Confess. Section 9.

This second captivity probably took place during the second devastation of *Britain*, noticed by *Gildas* *, after the *Roman* Legion, sent for the protection of Britain by *Aetius*, had been withdrawn, A.D. 405, about eleven years after his release from the former captivity; correctly corresponding to his expression "*not many years after.*" See *O'Conor*, Prol. i. page 85—87; Prol. ii. page 116, 117.

"*A few years* after," continues *Patrick*; "I was with my parents in *Britain*, who received me

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* The second devastation is thus described by *Gildas*, after the recall of the *Roman* Legion sent to their assistance, which successfully repelled the invaders, and slew a great multitude of them.

C. xiii. Illâ legatione, cum triumpho magno et gaudio, domum repetente, illi priores inimici, ac quasi *Ambrones* lupi, profundâ fame rabidi, siccis faucibus in ovile transilientes, non comparente pastore, alis remorum, remigumque brachiis, ac velis vento sinuatis, vecti, terminos [i. e. murum *Romanum*] rumpunt, cæduntque omnia, et quæque obvia, maturam ceu segetem, metunt, calcant, transeunt—[donec] auxiliatores egregii (*Romani*)—[eos] propere trans maria fugaverunt: quia *anniversarias* avide *prædas*, nullo obsistente, trans maria exaggerabant.

as a son, and faithfully intreated me, after all the tribulations I had undergone hitherto, to depart from them no more. While I remained there, I saw in a vision, at night, a man named *Victoricius*, coming, as it were, from *Ireland*, with epistles innumerable; and he gave me one of them. And I read the beginning of the epistle, containing *The voice of the Irish.* And while I was reciting the beginning of the epistle, I thought, at the moment, that I heard the voice of the inhabitants of the wood of *Foclut*, [in the Barony of *Tyrawley*, and county of *Mayo*, near *Killala*, *or*] the Western Ocean, crying out to me, as if with one voice, "*We beseech thee, Holy Youth, to come, and walk again among us.* And I was greatly pricked in my heart, and could read no more; and so I awoke. God be thanked, that many years after, the Lord dealt with them according to their cry. And another night, I heard him, whether in me or beside me I know not, God knoweth, I heard him speaking in a fine language, which I heard, but could not understand, save that at the end of his speech he said, '*He that laid down his Life for thee, He it is that speaketh in thee.*' And so I awoke, rejoicing greatly." Confess. Section 10.

Fiech thus describes his first call:

> "*Victor* said to the servant of *Milcho*,
> *Depart over the waves.*"

The *Victor* of Fiech, and the *Victoricius* of Patrick, were evidently the same; the latter was JESUS CHRIST himself, "*who laid down his life for our sakes.*" And who was justly styled *Victor*, as denoting him, who came forth, "*conquering*, and to *conquer*," from his first victory over death, at his resurrection, to his last victory over all his foes, near the end of the world; so magnificently described, Rev. vi. 2; xix. 11—21, from Psal. xlv. And according to *Fiech*, *Patrick* was intimately acquainted with the *Psalms* and the *Apocalypse*.

> "The *Hymns* and the *Apocalypse*,
> The *three fifties*, he chanted daily."

Victor, therefore, was no ordinary, nor Guardian Angel, as the *Monkish* writers, and even *O'Conor*, represent him; but "*the King of Angels;*" "the *Angel* who appeared to *Patrick*, in *the burning bush*," according to *Fiech*.

Patrick did not remain long at home, with his parents; but in order to qualify himself for his Heavenly call, and for the due discharge of his arduous and important mission, he visited the most distinguished Seminaries of Learning on the Continent; he travelled into *France*, and spent a good while with St. *Martin* of *Tours*, his uncle by the mother's side; with the celebrated *Germanus*, who instructed him in the *Canon* of Scripture, and furnished him with a *Liturgy:* from thence he proceeded to *Italy*, and the Islands of

the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, inhabited by the most learned Monks of that Monkish age, with whom he associated. According to *Fiech:*

5.

"He travelled over all the *Alps*,
And all the seas; his journey was prosperous.
He resided with *Germanus;*
And, in the Southern part of Southern *Latium*,
(*Italy*).

6.

In the Islands of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea,
In them he dwelt, as is related.
He read the Canon [of Scripture] with *Germanus*:
And so the Churches [abroad] attest."

After many years of foreign travel, spent in the pursuit of knowledge, *Patrick* at length, in the *sixtieth* year of his age, ventured to enter upon his mission, A. D. 432; as he thus modestly relates. Confess. § 11.

"I went not voluntarily to *Ireland*, until I was almost spent. But this was far better for me, because hereby I was amended by the Lord; who now fitted me for that which I formerly wanted; namely, *to care and labour for the salvation of others; at a time when I did not even think about myself.*"

The following lively description of his mission is furnished by *Fiech:*

7.

To *Erin* he proceeded,
Called by the *Angel of God.*

Often he saw in dreams,
That he ought to return thither.

8.

Most salutary to *Erin*
Was the coming of *Patrick* to *Oiclad;*
He heard from afar the voice of invitation,
From the sons of *Fochlaid* wood.

9.

They besought the saint to come
To discourse with them daily,
To draw away from their errors,
The Diviners of *Erin*, to life.

10.

The diviners of *Erin* predicted—
'*New days of peace shall come,*
Which shall endure for ever:
The country of Temor shall be deserted.'

11.

His *Druids*, from *Laogaire*,
The coming of *Patrick* concealed not;
The predictions were verified
Concerning *the King* (CHRIST) whom they foretold.

19.

The sons of *Emir*, the sons of *Heremon*,
Were all going to the *Devil;*
Even *Satan* was casting them down to hell,
In the great winnowing fan.

20.

Until the *Apostle* arrived,
To preserve them from *evil spirits*;

He preached for *threescore* years
To the Diviners of *Fenian* (*Phœnician*) descent.

21.

Upon the Diviners of *Erin* was darkness,
The Diviners adoring idols;
They believed not in the true DEITY,
In the true TRINITY."

In this interesting description, the Irish word *tuatha* is rendered by the old Latin translation, followed by *O'Conor*, "*populi*," and by *Lynch*, "*people*;" but, I apprehend, rather vaguely. *Vallancey*, that skilful *Irish* scholar, though an Englishman by birth, renders the word "*haruspices*, or *magi*, [soothsayers or diviners] from *tuath*, signifying superior knowledge or science," according to *Cormac's* Dictionary. These were the descendants of *Tuatha Dedan*, the learned scientific *Dedanites* of *Chaldea*, forming a distinguished class of people, known to the Greek historians by the name of *Indo-Scythæ*; who, for the sake of commerce, settled, at first, on the shores of the *Pontus*, and *Euxine* seas, in *Iberia* and *Albania* (the western, and eastern regions of *Georgia*), and afterwards colonized *Phœnicia* and *Syria*; and under the *Tyrian Hercules*, called in Irish, *Feni an fear saoidh* (*Fenius*, vir sapiens), and his adventurous mariners and descendants, colonized *Carthage*, and the coasts of *Spain*; and boldly passing the streights of *Gibraltar* (thence called the pillars of *Hercules*) into the

Atlantic Ocean, proceeded to the *British* Isles, attracted by their lucrative commerce; to which the *Phœnicians* gave the names of their original settlements, according to their relative positions; the western, *Iberia*, to Ireland; and the eastern, *Albania*, to Britain; which was afterwards appropriated to its northern division, Scotland. See *Vallancey's Essay on the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain* and *Ireland*, pp. 4—7.

And this specific interpretation of *Tuatha Erin*, "the diviners of *Ireland*," seems to be strongly supported by the context; being evidently in apposition to *Druidh Laoghair*, "the Druids of *Laogaire*," in the next verse, who unfolded to the monarch the predictions of their sage ancestors, and signified to him the coming of St. *Patrick*, to restore peace upon earth, and to banish idolatry, in the reign of the *Messiah*, during the *golden age* revived, or in the *regeneration*; of which blessed period a universal tradition prevailed throughout the ancient world, from the rising to the setting sun; founded primarily on the *prophecies* of the Old Testament, successively revealed to the patriarchs *Adam*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, &c. to the Israelites, *Moses*, *David*, *Isaiah*, &c.; and to the Heathen Diviners, *Balaam*, *Job*, &c. and from thence handed down, in the *Sibylline* and other oracles, the *Clarian*, *Dodonean* (from *Dedan*), *Pythian*, *Ammonian*, &c. to later times.

Temor, on the hill of *Turah*, in the county of *Meath*, was the chief seat of *heathen* idolatry; here, foretold to be deserted, upon the introduction of Christianity.

The word *Druidh*, or *Draoidh*, is derived from *Dara*, in the *Irish* or Celtic language; or Δρυς, in Greek; both signifying "an *oak*," and both, perhaps, derived from the Hebrew, דרש, (*Darash*, or *Drush*) "to *enquire*," as from an oracle, 2 Kings, i. 2—5. For the *oak* was considered a sacred tree, whence oracular *responses* were given in the remotest times; as at *Dodona*, the oldest oracle in *Greece*. *Julius Cæsar* * thus critically

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* *Cæsar* thus describes the *Druids*:—*Druides rebus divinis* intersunt, sacrificia publica et privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus, *disciplinæ causâ*, concurrit: magnoque ii sunt apud eos in honore, nam fere de omnibus *controversiis* publicis privatisque constituunt; et si quod est admissum *facinus*, si *cædes* facta, si de *hæreditate*, si de *finibus* controversia est, iidem decernunt, præmia pœnasque constituunt. Si quis, aut privatus aut publicus, eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis *interdicunt*. Hæc *pœna* apud eos est *gravissima*. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero *impiorum* ac *sceleratorum* habentur; iis *omnes decedunt, aditum* eorum *sermonemque defugiunt*, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus *jus redditur* neque *honos ullus communicatur*. His autem omnibus Druidibus *præest unus*, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si quis ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit; at si sunt plures pares, *suffragio Druidum* adlegitur. Non nunquam etiam, de *principatu armis con-*

describes the functions of the *Druids:* "The *Druids* are concerned in divine things; they take care of sacrifices, public and private; they interpret the rites and mysteries of religion. Their discipline is reckoned to have been invented in *Britain*, and from thence translated to *Gaul*. And at present, such as wish to learn it more carefully, generally travel to *Britain* for information." But *Pliny* † marks its oriental origin more accurately: "*Britain*, at the present day, strictly celebrates the art of the *Druids*, with so many ceremonies, that she may seem to have communi-

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tendunt. Ii, certo anni tempore, in finibus *Carnutum* (quæ regio totius Galliæ *media* habetur) considunt, in *loco consecrato.* Hic omnes undique, qui *controversias* habent, conveniunt; *eorumque judiciis decretisque* parent. Disciplina in *Britannia reperta*, atque inde in *Galliam translata* esse, existimatur: et nunc, qui *diligentius* eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illò *discendi causâ*, proficiscuntur. *Cæsar, Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. c. 13.

How minutely have the *Pope* and *Cardinals* of *Rome* copied the discipline and policy of the *Arch-Druid* and his *colleagues*; assuming all their *Ecclesiastical* and *civil* functions, and adopting their *excommunications* and *interdicts!* The whole scheme and texture, indeed, of their discipline, is *Pagan Druidism* engrafted upon *Christianity*; as fully shewn in the foregoing *Introduction.*

† *Pliny,* lib. xxx. c. 1, more correctly states the *Persian* origin of *Druidism*: *Britannia* hodie, *Druidarum artem* attonite celebrat *tantis cæremoniis*, ut dedisse *Persis* videri possit.

cated it to the *Persians;*" who were, indeed, the primitive founders of *Druidism* or *Magism.*—*Cicero* * also notices their veneration for *misletoe*, and the *oak:* "The *Druids* (for so the *Gauls* call their *Magi)* count nothing more holy than misletoe; or than the tree on which it grows, especially if it be an oak."

Hence, many ancient names of places in Ireland were derived from the oak; as, *Kil-dare*, "the temple of the oak;" where a celebrated oak was preserved, with religious veneration, long after the introduction of Christianity, called "St. *Bridget's* oak." *Dear-magh*, "the oak field," now

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* *Cicero* and *Pliny* notice their veneration for *misletoe*. Nil habent *Druides* (ita suos *Magos* appellant *Galli)*, *visco*, et arbore in quâ gignatur, si modo sit *robur*, sacratius. De Divin. I. 40. Est autem rarum admodum inventu, et repertum magnâ religione petitur; et ante omnia, *sextâ luna;* quæ *principia mensium annorumque* his facit, et *seculi* post *tricesimum annum*. Plin. xvi. c. 44.

This *Druidical* usage of commencing the month, not from the *new moon*, but from the *sixth* night, or the *half moon* after, which was more easily known, gave rise, perhaps, to the division in some of our Almanacks, in which the first *half moon* is called "the *first quarter*," though in reality the *second*, as in the English *Clerical Almanack* of 1818. And the *Druids* easily accommodated the *Lunar* year of 354 or 355 days to the *solar*, of 355¼ days, from which it falls short *ten* or *eleven* days; by intercalating a month of 30 days, at the end of every third year, about the time of the *Summer solstice*. *Bede* de *Temporum ratione*, c. 13. *O'Conor*, Prol. i. p. 30, 31.

Durrow, both in *Leinster; Bile-magha-dair*, "the holy tree of the field of oaks," in the county of *Clare, Connaught*, where the provincial kings were inaugurated.

The *Druids* were idolaters, as noticed by *Fiech*. Their principal divinities were the *Sun, Moon*, and *Stars*, or the Host of Heaven; the elements of nature, the *winds*, &c. The *Sun* was called, in Hebrew, *Baal;* in Phœnician, *Beel* *; signifying "Master;" i. e. *Baal-shamaim*, or *Beelsamen*, "Master of the Heavens:" and also *Malech, Maloch*, or *Moloch*, signifying "king" of the same. The moon was called *Samhin* (her Phœnician title), being the contraction of *Malchoth-Shamaim*, "Queen of the Heavens," so styled by the Pagans, Jer. xliv. 17, 25. They were supposed to preside over the cardinal seasons of *Spring* and *Autumn* respectively: and the kindest wish of the native *Irish*, for the prosperity of a friend, still continues to be, at the present day, "the blessings of *Samhin* and *Bel* be with you!" Hence their ancient custom, at the first sight of the *new moon*, to borrow a piece of money, if they have it not themselves, as an omen of plenty throughout the month. See *O'Halloran's History of Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 47, 113.

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* Thus *Baal-zebub*, signifying in Hebrew "Master of the Gadfly," worshipped in *Palestine*, 2 Kings, i. 2. was called in Syriac, or Phœnician, *Beel-zebub*, as in the New Testament.

Accordingly, the grand festivals of *Baal*, "the Sun," and *Samhin*, "the Moon," were celebrated at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. The eve of the vernal, was called *Oiche Baal tinne*, "the night of *Baal's* fire," when fires were lighted on all the high places dedicated to his worship. At which time, all culinary or household fires were ordered to be extinguished, under pain of death, and not lighted again until they were rekindled from the sacred fire. For imparting which, the *Druids* were entitled to a fee from each house. The eve of the autumnal equinox was called *Oiche Samhin*, "the night of *Samhin*," which was celebrated with similar rites by the *Druids*.

In *Ireland*, the proper names of a multitude of places are derived from those of the *Sun* and *Moon*, imposed in times of paganism, and still retained to the present day. Such as the town of *Baltinglass*, in the county of *Wicklow*, and province of *Leinster*; or *Baal-tinne-glass*, signifying "*Baal's* fire, green," when the grass is *green*, as at the vernal equinox; *Granard*, in the county of *Longford*, or *Grián-ārd*, "the Sun's high place." *Kilmallock*, a town in the county of *Limerick*, and province of *Munster*, or *Kil-maloch*, "the temple of *Maloch*;" where are the ruins of a fine abbey, and a street of superb houses, the most magnificent to be seen in *Munster*, and of the remotest antiquity. *Athlone*, or *Atha-luan*, signifying "the ford of the moon," a town situate

high on the river *Shannon*, where it is fordable, bounding *Leinster*, in *Westmeath*, and *Connaught*, in *Galway; Killesandra*, or *Killa-chandra*, signifying in Irish, "the temple of the moon's circle or cycle;" and, what is truly remarkable, the same in the *Sanscrit* language, which was a dialect of the primitive *Persic* or *Syriac*. Thus *Herodotus* mentions a city of *Egypt*, during the *Persian* dominion, whose name, he allows, is not *Egyptian*, called *Ar-chandra*, signifying "the city of the Moon;" not, as he imagines, from the daughter of *Archander*, the wife of *Danaus*. B. ii. § 98.

The *Druidical* temples of the highest antiquity, like the *Persian* of old, were open to the Heavens; they were remarkably rude and simple in their structure, consisting of a circle of twelve tall straight stone pillars of immense size, with stone linterns across, connecting each pair of pillars; and also an enormous flat stone, called *crom-leach*, supported on three of four pedestals, serving for an altar of sacrifice, placed in the middle, or near one end of the enclosure; of which the plan might have been borrowed, perhaps, from the scriptural, consisting, in like manner, of twelve pillars and an altar, (Exod. xxiv. 4.) and both originally emblematical of "the Sun and Moon, and twelve Stars," (Gen. xxxvii. 9.) or constellations of the Zodiac, in the primeval astronomy of *Chaldea*, to which the *Magi* or *Druids* were much addicted. See *Vallancey's Astronomy of the Ancient Irish*. Collectan. vol. vi. part ii.

Of these *Druidical* temples and altars, there are numerous remains in every part of *Great Britain* and *Ireland.* Such as the great one of *Stonehenge*, on *Salisbury* Plain, said to have been formed in *Ireland*, and transported by *Merlin's* magic art, in one night, from thence, across the channel, to its present site. And one, of nearly equal dimensions, still exists in *Ireland*, at *Beal-agh*, "the altar of *Beal*, or *Baal*, in the county of *Down*, four miles from *Belfast*. (See a drawing and description of it in *Vallancey's Essay on the Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland*, pp. 40, 41.) The plain, or the high place in which they were erected, was called *Magh-adhair*, or *Magh-slecht*, "the field of adoration."

The following curious description of their mode of worship is given in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, ann. mundi 3656, or B. C. 296 *, in their account of *Tigernach*, king of *Ireland*, who first made an image, and introduced idolatry at that time. "On the night of *Samhin*, *Tigernach*, with the men and women of Ireland, prayed to the idol *Crom-cruagh* so devoutly, when they fell down and worshipped it, that they broke their

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* The Irish Chronologers, *Gildas Coemhain*, *Tigernach*, &c. counted 3952 years from the creation of the world to the vulgar Christian era, nearly agreeing with *Scaliger*, 3950, but differing from *Petavius* 3984 years, and from *Usher* 4004 years. See *O'Conor*, Prol. ii. pp. 35, 38.

knees, their elbows and their noses, wounded their foreheads, and cut their cheeks, so that the blood gushed out." *O'Conor*, Prol. i. p. 22. How remarkably does this *Irish* account correspond with the *Scriptural*, of the worshippers of *Baal*, in *Elijah's* days! 2 Kings, xviii. The catastrophe also was similar: for we learn from *O'Flaherty*, in his *Ogygia*, that "*Tigernmagh*, king of Ireland, and the introducer of the worship of idols, the hundredth year after the landing of the *Milesians* [from *Spain*], while he was sacrificing to the principal idol of Ireland, called *Crom-cruah*, at the beginning of the winter half year, perished, or was slain, with an immense multitude of people, at "the field of *Adoration*," in *Breffny*, county of *Cavan*, looking towards *Connaught*; thence called *Moy-sleucht*, "the field of slaughter." Prol. i. p. 23.

St. *Patrick*, in A. D. 432, appears to have taken his first station, after his arrival in *Ireland*, at *Ennis Patrick*, "the Island of *Patrick*," near *Skerries* in *Fingal*, about 12 miles north of Dublin; called also *Holm Patrick*, from the old Saxon word *holm*, signifying a haven, or harbour. From thence he proceeded northward, to the county of *Down*, and founded a monastery called *Sabhall Patrick*, or the "barn of Patrick," on the east side of *Dundrum* bay. Here are two small vaulted rooms of stone, quite entire, about seven feet high, six feet long, and two feet and a half

broad, with a small window placed on one side. These were, probably, long prior to St. *Patrick's* time; for small chapels of a similar construction are found on the coast of *Kerry*, at *Cashel*, &c. which appear to have been of the remotest antiquity, coeval with the first *Phenician* settlers in Ireland; and in the opinion of General *Vallancey*, (Collectan. vol. vi. part i. p. 137.), may challenge even the round towers in age, which are sometimes found near them, as at the rock of *Cashel;* where *Cormac*'s chapel, as it is called, is seated on the south side of the more modern church, or cathedral, and a lofty round tower on the north side. Their general name, is *Teach Draoi*, " the house of the *Druid*."

The *round towers* are numerous in *Ireland*, especially in the southern division; and are found also in *Scotland*. They are evidently of the same structure with the two round pillars which the judicious *Maundrell*, in his journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*, describes as near *Tripoli*, on the sea coast, a furlong asunder, and about half a mile northward of an idol temple. This temple was a court of 55 yards square, cut in the natural rock, which supplied the place of walls on three sides, but was open on the north. In the centre of this area was the throne of the idol, composed of four large stones, two at the sides, one at the back, and another, of five yards and three quarters square, carved round with a handsome cornice,

hanging over all at the top, in the manner of a canopy.

The whole structure was about twenty feet high, fronting towards the two round pillars. Of these pillars, one was thirty-three feet high, consisting of a pedestal of ten feet high, and fifteen square; upon which was reared a single stone pillar in form of a cylinder, and capped with another stone cut in the shape of a pyramid. The other, nearly of the same height, was capped with a stone cut in the shape of a hemisphere. Under these pillars were extensive catacombs, or sepulchral chambers. Of all which, *Maundrell* has given drawings and accurate descriptions. See the *Appendix*, No. 11.

The stone court was probably a house or temple of *Baal*, or *Moloch*, dedicated to the Sun; whose image or idol was originally seated on the throne. 2 Kings x. 27. *Round pillars* were consecrated to the *Sun* and the *Moon*, from the earliest times. When *Balak*, king of *Moab*, employed *Balaam* the Chaldean diviner to curse the *Israelites*, he brought him up to the "*high places of Baal.*" Numb. xxii. 41. But this is rendered by the ancient Greek version of the Septuagint, *την στηλην τȣ* Βααλ, "*the pillar of Baal*," or round pillar, consecrated to the Sun. The other, whose top was hemispherical, probably was consecrated to the *Moon*, for she also was called *ἡ* Βααλ, "*the Mistress*," and *ἡ δαμαλις*, "*the heifer*," whom the tribe

of *Nephtali* worshipped under that form, before the captivity, Tobit i. 5. Her worship had been long established in *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, even before *Abraham*'s days, under the title of *Ashtoroth-karnaim*, "the shining *cow* two-horned," Gen. xvi. 5.; as the sun had been, under the form of a *bull;* called, in Egypt, *Apis*, long before the Exode of the Israelites; from whence they derived their model of the *golden calf* at Mount *Sinai*, Exod. xxxii. 2—8. Neh. ix. 18. And these, we may presume, were the *Baalim*, or *Baals*, in the plural number, whom the *Israelites* worshipped under their Judges and Kings, until their captivity, Judg. ii. 11; 1 Sam. vii. 4; 2 Chron. xxvii. 2; and the *golden calves*, which the wicked policy of *Jeroboam*, after his revolt, set up at *Dan* and *Bethel*, the Northern and Southern extremities of his kingdom, in opposition to the established worship of the LORD, at the temple of *Jerusalem*. 1 Kings xii. 26—33.

These "*pillars of Baal*," or round towers, abounded every where in the earliest seats of the *Indo-Scythæ*. Their remains and ruins are still to be found in *Colchis* and *Pontus*, and among the ancient tribes of *Caucasus;* in *Russia*, on the river *Wolga;* in *Persia*, where *Hanway* found four fire-temples of the ancient *Guebres* (or fire-worshippers), which he describes as "rotund, above thirty feet in diameter, raised in height to a point near a hundred and twenty feet." (Vol. i. p. 292,

382.) In *Hindostan*, they occur in the form of the most ancient pagodas; which are chiefly buildings of a cylindrical, or *round tower shape*, either *pointed* or *truncated* at the summit, and frequently adorned with a *round ball* stuck on a spike. *Pennant's View of Hindostan*, vol. ii. p. 123. And they have been found even in *America*.

The structure of those round towers, built of the most durable materials, was well fitted for the preservation of the *sacred fire* from the weather; and probably to prevent the intrusion of the profane vulgar, the door, or entrance, is usually placed about fifteen or twenty feet from the ground. And the four windows at the top, fronting the cardinal points, were well fitted to discharge the smoke. They seem much better calculated for this purpose than for *belfries*, places of *penance*, or residences of *Anchorites*, *gnomons*, or *sun-dials*, &c. according to the various guesses of their design and use. See *Vallancey's Essay on the Round Towers of Ireland*. *Collectanea*, vol. vi. part i. p. 121; and *O'Conor*, Prol. i. p. 32; Prol. ii. p. 206.

Aoi Beil toir, "the community of *Baal's tower*," was a high dignity in the pagan church. Wherever the word occurs in the *Brehon* laws, it is underlined by the commentators, and explained by the word *Easbog*, "bishop," according to *Vallancey*. Ibid.

Our Apostle appears to have taken up his residence, next, in the neighbourhood of *Slane*, near *Drogheda;* as we may collect from *Fiech's* account of his mission, and the austerities he practised.

12.

Patrick was renowned till his death;
He was strenuous in banishing errors;
Hence his acts were celebrated
Among all tribes of peoples.

13.

The *Hymns* and the *Apocalypse*,
The *three fifties* (Psalms) he chanted daily;
He preached, he baptized, he prayed;
From the praises of God, he ceased not.

14.

The cold prevented him not
From remaining at night in the rains,
To obtain the kingdom [of Heaven];
He preached God on the hills.

15.

In *Slane*, with the Diviners of Mount *Barcha*,
Whose [river *Boyne*] is never dried nor diminished,
He chanted a hundred Psalms, every night,
To serve the KING OF ANGELS.

16.

Afterwards, he slept upon the bare rock,
And a wet quilt over him;
The bark [of trees] was his pillow;
He indulged not his body in luxury,

17.

"He preached the Gospel to all,
He worked great miracles, daily;
He healed the *blind*, with *fasting*;
The *dead*, he restored to life."

Fiech here notices the mighty miracles wrought by *Patrick*, briefly, and in general terms, without descending to particulars. But the deficiency is abundantly supplied by his successors; *Joceline* especially, who recites a multitude of the most idle and extravagant kind, wrought by the Saint, not only during his mission, as *Fiech* evidently supposes, but even *before* his birth, and during his infancy, and childhood*. They carry, indeed,

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* The following may serve as a sample of such miracles:

1. When his mother *Conchessa* was pregnant of him, poison was administered to her; but it was found, at his birth, converted into a stone, which he was holding between his fingers. The stone also, upon which he was laid when born, partaking of his sanctity, possessed many wonder-working powers, especially that of detecting perjury.

2. When his aunt wanted a fagot to renew the fire, the child converted into dry wood some *ice*, which he had brought home from the field, in his bosom.

3. When a wolf carried off a lamb from the flock, under the young Saint's care, and he was blamed for his negligence; lo! the wolf brought back the lamb safe and sound, of his own accord, next morning.

4. When the cruel Lord of *Dunbarton* confined his aunt, and employed her to cleanse the stalls and stables of his castle, St. *Patrick* performed the task for her miraculously.

their own refutation with them. The meek and lowly *Patrick* himself, in his writings, makes no

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And ever since, says *Joceline*, the dung continues to be cleared away, invisibly; insomuch, that if all the cattle of the country were driven into the stables, no dirt could be found after them. A miracle, says he, so well known in the neighbourhood, as to require no further proof.

5. When St. *Patrick* was going to set sail for *Ireland*, from a British port, a *leper*, standing on the shore, besought his passage thither, in the name of the LORD JESUS. But the mariners refused to take him on board. The Saint, however, took pity on him, and flung into the sea a *stone altar*, which had been consecrated, and given him by the Pope, and on which he used to celebrate the divine mysteries. He then made the leper sit thereon; when, to the amazement of all the beholders, the stone, with its freight, under the guidance of the *chief corner-stone* (CHRIST), not only floated, contrary to nature, but, moreover, set sail and kept pace with the ship; so that they both arrived together, the same moment, at the shore. Whereupon the Saint took occasion to reprove his companions for their want of faith, and changed their *stoney* hearts into a *fleshly*, to exercise works of charity in future.

The following notable instances of curing the *blind*, and raising the *dead*, are selected from *Joceline:*

6. A man called *Gormas*, blind from his mother's womb, in consequence of a divine command, in his sleep, took the infant Saint's hand, shortly after his baptism, and made the sign of the Cross with it on the ground; when immediately a fountain of water sprang up in the place touched, which, like another *Shiloah*, not only gave him the power of *vision*, but enabled him to *read* and *understand* the *Scriptures* also.

7. His aunt's husband having died suddenly, she applied

pretensions to the power of working miracles, at any time: he only acknowledges gratefully the

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to young *Patrick* to restore him to life, for having kindly fostered him in his infancy: whereupon, in compassion to her tears, embracing the dead man, and making the sign of the cross, and praying over him, he raised and restored him to life.

8. A man called *Donald*, who had been long blind, hearing St. *Patrick* passing by, ran after him, begging to be cured; but in his haste, stumbled and fell by the way. One of the clergy who attended the Saint, laughed at the blind man's fall, and derided his misfortune. To punish him, therefore, the Saint transferred the blindness to him, and restored the other to sight.

9. At a place called *Fearta*, he raised to life *two* women who had been *dead* and *buried:* as soon as they revived, they renounced their idols and demon gods, declared that Christ was the true God, and desired to be baptized in his name; which was done accordingly: and all the by-standers glorified God, and were baptized.

10. He next raised to life *nineteen* men who had been dead and buried; one of them, called *Fota*, had been no less than *ten* years in his grave! They related to the by-standers the pains they had undergone, were baptized, and became monks. This miracle converted king *Engus*, and all his people of *Cashel*.

11. The only son of *Elelius*, a pagan prince who had obstinately opposed St. *Patrick's* preaching, was trampled to death by swine, and partly devoured. To convert his incredulous father, he ordered the two bishops, *Ailbe* and *Ibar*, to restore him not only to life, but to his perfect soundness of limbs; which by his prayers they effected. Whereupon the prince, and all his house and people, believed, and were baptized.

signs and *wonders* vouchsafed to him by the Lord, for support against his opposers, and the scoffers of his mission, for exposing himself to danger, among enemies who knew not the Lord. Confess. § 17. Thus, when his enemies most eagerly sought to kill him; when they robbed him, and his companions, of all that they found, and bound himself in chains; on the fourteenth day, the LORD rescued him from their power, and his goods were all restored. Confess. § 19.

Fiech, indeed, is too fond of the marvellous. Afterwards he thus describes the miraculous day of an entire year's continuance, that followed St. *Patrick's* death:

28.

The Sun dispelled the night,
So that the light failed not.
For the space of a *year* there was Sun light,
That was the prolonged day!

29.

In the battle fought at *Bethoron*
Against the Diviners of *Canaan*,
The Sun stood still over *Gibeon*,
As Scripture relates to us.

30.

Since the Sun stood still for *Joshua*,
To slay the sinners [of *Canaan*],
Why should not the Sun's light
Be *three hundred* times more obedient,
On account of the felicity of the Saints?

Fiech, who most probably attended *Patrick* at his death, could not but know this to be a glaring fiction. *Joceline* himself, who usually far outstrips *Fiech*, reduces it to *twelve* days only, instead of "*three hundred*," or 365 days; which he considered as utterly incredible, credulous as he was. Might not *Fiech* have intended it merely as a poetical licence, or hyperbole? Such are frequent in poetry, sacred and profane:

"Moreover the light of the *Moon* shall be as the light of the *Sun*;
And the light of the Sun shall be seven-fold, as the light of *seven days*:
In the day that THE LORD bindeth up the breach of His people,
And healeth the stroke of their wound."

Isa. xxx. 26.

Lucem redde, dux bone, patriæ:
Instar veris, enim, vultus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, *gratior it dies*,
Et soles melius nitent. Hor. Od. iv. 5, 5.

Early in the spring of A. D. 433, the second of his mission, *Patrick* attacked the chief seat of Druidical idolatry, however hazardous the attempt. He pitched his tent at a place called *Ferta fir Fiech*, "the graves of the men of *Fiech*," on the north bank of the river *Boyne*, near *Slane*: and had the hardihood, on *Easter-eve* (March 25th, that year), to light up the *paschal* fire, about six miles distant from the temple of *Temor*, "the

great house," on the hill of *Tarah*, "the law;" where the monarch of Ireland, *Laegaire*, with his assembled Druids, nobles and people, were preparing, the same evening (the eve of the *vernal equinox**), to celebrate the solemnity of *Baal's fire;* when the sight of *Patrick's* fire, kindled earlier than the sacred fire, in express violation of the national law, struck the king and the whole assembly with the utmost astonishment and dismay: and the *Druids* declared to the king, that unless that fire was immediately extinguished, he who kindled it, and his successors, should hold the principality of Ireland for ever. On this occasion, when brought before the king, the Apostle boldly preached Christ to the whole assembly; and such was the reputation of his sanctity, that he not only escaped punishment, but even converted *Dubtach*, the king's bard, and *Fiech*, a young poet under his tuition, afterwards appointed bishop of *Sletty;* to whose conversion, we may be assured, the predictions of the *Druids*, which he has recorded, contributed not a little.

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* The modern Church of *Rome*, wishing to retain the *pagan* ceremony of *Baal-tinne*, yet not so as to interfere with the celebration of *Easter*, at the vernal equinox; with their usual accommodating policy, postponed it to *May-day;* which is now called by the vulgar, *La Baal-tinne.* On this day the *May-pole* is erected, that obscene emblem of the pagan *Phallus*, or *Lingam.*

Laogaire himself is said, by the Monkish historians, to have been converted; but it appears from the Irish annals, that he perished by lightning, in his infidelity. For, in A. D. 457, the twenty-ninth of his reign, *Laogaire* having invaded the *Lagenians*, or men of *Leinster*, to enforce the payment of tribute, was defeated by them, and taken prisoner, in the battle of *Athadara*, "the ford of the oaks;" and in order to procure his release, he swore by the *sun*, the *winds*, and the *elements*, that he would invade them no more during his life. But the very next year, A. D. 458, he broke his oath, and invaded them again: wherefore he was slain near *Cassia*, between two hills, *Erin* and *Albania*, in the country of *Faolan* (perhaps *Ophely*): the *sun* and the *winds* slew him, because he forsware them. As the old poet said:

Atbath *Laogaire mac Neill* for taob *Caissi*, glas antir;
Duile De ad racgaidh raith-tuc sat dail mbais for san righ.
"*Laogaire*, son of *Neill*, fell near *Cassia*, a green region;
The elements of God, whose oath he had violated,
Inflicted on the king the punishment of death."

Might not this legend somehow allude to the forementioned battle of *Bethoron*, in which the *elements* fought against the devoted *Canaanites*? This signal instance of divine vengeance, and the similar instance in *Samuel's* days, against the

Philistines, would naturally strike great terror; and be recorded among their neighbours, the *Phenicians*, and handed down by tradition to their *Irish* colonies.

The next great *Druidical* solemnity was held at *Talte*, a mountain in *Meath*, where the *Taltine* games, called *Fogh more ratha*, "the season of great festivity," were annually celebrated, for fifteen days before, and fifteen days after, the summer solstice. The Monkish writers say, they were instituted so early as A. M. 2764, or B. C. 1188, during the siege of Troy, by *Lugaidh lam Fadah*, the twelfth king of Ireland: but the Annals of the Four Masters, with more probability, depress them to A. M. 3370, or B. C. 582. See *O'Conor*, Prol. i. pp. 33, 34; Prol. ii. pp. 13, 35, 38. By a usual compromise with paganism, in the Old *Roman* Ecclesiastical Calendar, St. *John Baptist's* day, June 24, is substituted for the *pagan solstice* festival, and is there called *solstitium vulgi*, the "vulgar solstice:" on the vigil, or eve of which, in imitation of their pagan ancestors, the native *Irish*, still light up *bon-fires*, or sacred fires, on the hills; and, in sport, leap themselves, and drive their cattle, *through the fires;* as formerly practised in the horrid sacrifices to *Baal*.

Patrick attended these games also, and is said to have made many converts, especially *Connal*, the brother of king *Laogaire*, and great grand-

father of St. *Columbkille*, who gave him ground to build a church upon.

From thence he proceeded to *Magh-Adair*, the field of Adoration, in *Cavan*, on the confines of *Connaught*, where, at the autumnal equinox, was celebrated the third *Druidical* solemnity, called *Oiche Samhin*, and also *Geimh-ratha* (or, corruptly, *Geimhre)*, "the season of groaning," from the groans and shrieks of the human victims then offered in sacrifices to their idol, *Crom-cruach*, noticed before. According to the Monkish historians, our Apostle pulled down this idol.

The fourth *Druidical* solemnity of the year was celebrated at the winter solstice, called *Iar-ratha* (and, corruptly, *Ear-rach)*, i. e. "the last season," or quarter of the year. The *new-moon* nearest to the winter solstice was celebrated by the Pagans with peculiar ceremonies and superstitious usages. In ancient times, the *chief Druid*, attended by crowds of people, went into the woods on that night, and cut with a golden sickle a branch of the *misletoe* of the oak, and carried it in procession to the sacred grove. The people also cut branches for themselves, and carried them home, after they had been blessed or consecrated by the chief Druid. Whence the usage of adorning the pews of our churches and chapels with *ever-greens*, in lieu of misletoe, at Christmas *.

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* In the *Christmas* gambols of the *Mummers*, formerly celebrated in *France*, and still in *Scotland*, traces of *Druidi-*

At the beginning of the second year, A. D. 434, quitting *Magh-adair*, or *Magh-slecht*, "the field of Adoration," in *Cavan*, *Patrick* went to *Ail-fion*, "the rock of the clear fountain," now *Elphin*, in *Connaught*; and at the beginning of Lent he retired to a lofty mountain near the sea coast, then called *Cruagh an Aichle*, "Mount Eagle," but ever since, *Cruagh Patrick*, "the Mount of *Patrick*,"

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cal usages were to be found. A man personating a prince (*Roi follet*, "a mummer,") set out from the village into the woods, bawling out, *Au gui menez: Le roy le veult.* The Monks followed in the rear with their begging boxes, which they rattled, crying *Tire, liri*, and the people put money in them, under the pretence that it was for a *lady in labour*. Persons in disguise (*Guiseards*) forced into dwelling-houses, playing antic tricks, and bullying the inhabitants for money and victuals, crying *Tire-liri, tire-liri; maint du blanc, et point du bis.* This, at length, occasioned their suppression in France, in the reign of *Louis* XIV.

Hence were derived the *Guisearts* of *Edinburgh*, and their cry, "*Hog menay; Gie's your white bread, none of your gray,*" as remarked by Professor *Robinson*, in his *Natural Philosophy*, p. 200. The old French *Augui menez*, and the Scottish *Hog menay*, are plainly corruptions of the Greek ἁγια μηνη (*Hagia mene*), "Holy moon," which was anciently supposed to be in labour at the time of the conjunction, or new moon. The phrase *Tire liri*, seems to be a corruption of *Tirez le roi*, "*draw forth*" money "*for the king*," namely, *roi follet*, the "*mummer*." And the French, *maint du blanc, et point du bis*, is exactly rendered in the Scottish, "*Gie's your white bread, none of your grey.*" *Hale's New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. i. p. 153, 4to.

where, in imitation of *Moses*, *Elijah*, and *Christ*, he is said to have fasted forty days; and afterwards to have expelled all serpents and noxious animals from Ireland, and driven all the demons in the land into the Western Ocean, at the foot of the mount; according to *Evinus* and *Joceline*. But *Patrick* and *Fiech* are totally silent about these wonders; and *Solinus*, who flourished A. D. 190, above two centuries before St. *Patrick*, notices the exemption of Ireland from all poisonous reptiles; and is copied by *Isidore* of *Seville*, in the seventh century; the venerable *Bede*, in the eighth; and *Donatus*, bishop of *Fesula*, in his panegyric on Ireland. "The exemption, therefore, must be owing to the nature and quality of the air and soil, or to some other unknown cause; and not to the virtues of our patron, which have no need to be supported by the inventions of *Joceline;*" as judiciously remarked by *Harris*, in his *Life of St. Patrick*.

From thence he proceeded to *Tir-Amalgaid*, "the Country of *Amalgaid*," now the Barony of *Tirawley;* in which was the wood of *Foclut*, which he had seen in vision; and there is said to have converted *Amalgaid* the king, and many thousands of his subjects. He is reported to have spent seven years in *Connaught*, which he considered as the peculiar scene of his mission, and to have wrought a general conversion of the inhabitants.

He next visited *Ulster*, with equal success, and

founded several churches there, especially a church and see at *Clogher*, so called from *Clogh-or*, "a golden stone," from which, in times of paganism, the devil, used to pronounce juggling responses, like the oracles of the *Pythian Apollo:* as related in the registry of *Clogher*. But his principal church and see was at *Ard-magh*, "the high field," founded A. D. 445, in the thirteenth year of his mission.

He next visited *Leinster*, and made a considerable stay in *Dublin*, so called from the "black channel" of the river *Liffey*. There, in A. D. 448, he celebrated divine service, in one of the subterraneous vaults of Christ's Church Cathedral, which was afterwards built over them, A. D. 1038. These vaults, as remarked before, were probably *heathen* temples of the remotest antiquity; which, after the introduction of Christianity, were converted into chapels, by the accommodating spirit of the *Christian* converts, still wishing to retain their ancient places of worship. He also founded a church near the well, called St. *Patrick's*, upon whose site was afterwards erected the noblest cathedral in Ireland, of the same name, in A. D. 1190. *Usher* says, that the well was near the steeple, but that, in 1639, it was shut up and inclosed within a private house.

The last province he visited was *Munster;* where his precursors, *Ailbe*, *Declan*, *Kieran*, and *Iber*, had already made some progress in preach-

ing the Gospel; but the glory of converting the king of *Munster*, *Naitfrach*, and his son *Engus*, was reserved for our Apostle. And they conducted him with great honour and respect to the royal city of *Cashel*. Here St. *Patrick* * held a synod, A. D. 450, at which several important regulations were made, in conjunction with the civil power. For the legends of *Ailbe* and *Declan* inform us †, that "king *Engus*, St. *Patrick*, and *all the people* decreed that *(Emley)*, the city and see of St. *Ailbe*, should be the archbishopric of *Munster* for ever; and *Ailbe* was then ordained by *them* archbishop." This see, however, was afterwards united to that of *Cashel*, by authority of Parliament, A. D. 1568. In the same synod,

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* The *Monkish* Historians of *Glastonbury*, &c. say, that at this council of *Cashel*, St. *Patrick* was assisted by *Auxilius* and *Iserninus*, regular Canons of the *Lateran* Church at *Rome*, who had followed him from thence; but without any sufficient foundation. Archbishop *Usher* doubts it, *Ancient Religion of the Irish*, chap. viii.; and the tenor of the decrees then passed, militates against it; in which no notice is taken of them.

† Rex *Engus* et *Patricius*, cum *omni populo*, ordinaverunt Archiepiscopatum *Momoniæ*, in (*Emley*) civitate, et in sede sancti *Albei*; qui tunc ab *eisdem* archiepiscopus ordinatus est, per seculum. *Ex vitâ S. Declani.* Rex *Engus* et *Patricius* ordinaverunt, ut in (*Emley*) civitate et Cathedrâ sancti *Albei*, esset archiepiscopatus omnium *Momonensium* semper. *Ex vitâ S. Albei.*

Declan was confirmed Bishop of *Ardmore*, in *Waterford; Kiernan* was settled in the see of *Saigre*, in the territory of *Ely-O'Carrol*, and *King's County*, which was formerly looked upon as part of *Munster*, though now in *Leinster;* but in process of time this see was translated to *Aghavoe*, and thence to *Kilkenny;* and *Ibar* was created Bishop of *Beg-Erin*, or "little Ireland," an island lying off the coast of *Wexford*, anciently reckoned a part of *Munster;* which was so called, from its exact resemblance in shape to the great island. See *Ware*, by *Harris*, vol. i. p. 21.

In this synod also, the dress of the clergy and their wives was regulated *. "If any of the clergy, from the sexton to the priest, be seen walking abroad without a gown, or *his wife with her head unveiled*, let them be equally despised by the *laity*, and separated from the *church*." And the following penitential canon was then enacted †:

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* Quicunque [ex] *clericis*, ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sine *tunicâ* visus fuerit, &c.; et *uxor* ejus, si non *velato capite* ambulaverit: pariter a *laicis* contemnentur, et ab *ecclesiâ* separentur. *Synod. Patric. Auxil. Isern.*

† *Christianus*, qui *occiderit*, aut *fornicationem* fecerit; aut, more *Gentilium*, ad *Aruspicem* meaverit; per singula crimina, *annum pœnitentiæ* agat: impleto, cum testibus, veniat anno pœnitentiæ; et postea resolvetur a sacerdote. *Synod Patricii, Auxil. et Isern.* MS. *in bibliothecâ Collegii Benedict. Cantabrig.*

And the *penance* itself was serious:

"A *Christian*, who has committed *murder* or *fornication*, or, after the manner of the *Gentiles*, gone to consult a *diviner;* for every such crime shall do *a year of penance:* and when the year of penance is completed, he shall come with witnesses, and afterwards shall be absolved by the priest." How different was this from the practice of the *modern* church of *Rome*. These primitive bishops, according to the original discipline of the church, required that a long and serious penance should first be undergone; and when, by that means, sufficient proof had been given of the *sincerity* of the offender's *repentance*, then, and not till then, the priest was empowered to give him the benefit of *absolution:* whereas, says primate *Usher*, "by the new device of *sacramental penance*, the matter is now far more easily transacted: by virtue of the *keys*, the sinner is instantly, of *attrite*, made *contrite;* and thereupon, as soon as he has made his *confession*, he presently receives his absolution: after this, some trivial *penance* is imposed, which, upon better consideration, may be converted into *pence;* and so a quick end is made of many a foul business." *Religion of the Ancient Irish and British*, chap. v. pp. 47, 48.

Annum integrum in *pane* et *aquâ*, per *mensuram* pœniteat. "Let *penance* be made for an entire year, with *bread* and *water*, by *measure*." *Ex libro Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum* 66

The proceedings of this Council of *Caskel* sufficiently prove the primacy of St. *Patrick* over the bishops of *Munster;* and that it was equally acknowledged in *Connaught* and *Leinster*, we cannot doubt; for as the bishops there owed their establishment to his labours, so did they naturally render him the reverence and submission due to his superior virtue and sanctity. His contemporary, St. *Schachlin*, usually called *Secundinus*, in the Hymn ascribed to him in praise of St. *Patrick*, A. D. 448, shortly before this council, declares that "he obtained his *apostleship* from God, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." And that "CHRIST chose him as his *vicar upon earth*." And *Cumminus*, junior, in A. D. 634, when the papal prerogatives were greatly extolled, still called him S. *Patricius*, *Papa noster;* considering him as "Pope of *Ireland*." And hence *Fiech* represents,

> "In *Armach* is the See of the kingdom,
> And long shall be, to the citizens of *Emania*."
> "VICTOR said, 'Authority is given to *Armagh*'."

Emania was the palace of the kings of *Ulster*, at *Armagh*, long before the arrival of *Patrick*. *Ptolemy* has noticed it in his Geography, under the title of Ρηγια, or *Regia*, "the palace," from the earlier accounts of the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians*. And in the annals of *Innisfallen*, *Cimbaoth mac Fintain*, is said to have reigned

there in the eighteenth year of *Ptolemy Lagus*, A. D. 289 *, which therefore is reckoned the era of its foundation; and this, indeed, according to the judicious Irish analist, *Tigernach*, is the legitimate era of *Irish* history: for he says, "All the monuments of the *Scoti*, until *Cimbasth*, or the founding of *Emania*, are uncertain," in their chronology. *Armagh* was also, in ancient times, a great seminary for education. At one time it was frequented by upwards of 7000 scholars. *Lynch's Cambrensis eversus*, p. 184, edit. 1662.

One of the most important of *Patrick's* institutions was the revival of the laws and ordinances of pagan times; for we learn, "that in the tenth year of king *Laogaire*, A. D. 438, the ancient books, and other old monuments of Ireland, having been sought out from all quarters, and col-

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* *Tigernachus*, omnia monumenta *Scotorum* usque *Kimbaoth*, i. e. usque *Eamaniam* conditam, incerta esse declarat. *Emaniæ* initia refert ad annum *Ptolomæi Logidis*, xviii. qui regis *Ægypti* titulum usurpavit, anno xviii. ab obitu *Alexandri*, ante Christi 306—[nempe A. C. 306—17 A. C. 289.]—Itemq. secundum *Annales Inisfalliæ*:—"In *Egypto* primus regnat *Ptolomæus, Lagi*, fil. .....*Cimbaeth mac Fintain* regnavit annis xxviii. in *Emainmacha* [i. e. arce regia *Ultoniæ*]. In xviii. *Ptolomæi*, fuit primus Rex *Emna* [*Emain*], *Cimbaeth mac Fintain*." *O'Conor, Epist. Nuncupat* pp. 39, 41. N. B. His argument is here stated more clearly; by bringing the two passages together, and by a slight insertion, and alteration of the pointing of the latter clause.

lected together, by the authority of St. *Patrick*, the Antiquities and Laws of Ireland were corrected and republished under the inspection of three kings, three bishops, and three sages; thence called *Sennchas mor*, "the *Great Sanction*, New Law, or Constitution of Nine." It is much to be regretted that this important code of laws has perished in the ensuing wars and troubles of *Ireland*, along with many other valuable Irish MSS. especially a copy of the *Four Gospels*, said to be transcribed by St. *Patrick* and *Columba* conjointly. Much praise is due to Dr. *O'Conor*, for his patriotic labours to rescue from oblivion the mouldering remains of ancient *Irish* literature, in his learned and elaborate publications; especially his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, to which this work is so much indebted for much curious and recondite information, contained in the first volume, published in 1813; the second volume having been unfortunately retarded hitherto, by the valuable Catalogue of the MSS. contained in the Marquis of *Buckingham's* noble library at *Stowe;* now printing by Dr. *O'Conor* (August, 1818).

That St. *Patrick* was a firm believer in "the *true* DEITY, in the true TRINITY," we have still further evidence, in his *Confession* of Faith.

"There is no other God, nor ever was, nor will be hereafter, but GOD THE FATHER unbegotten, without beginning, from whom is every beginning, maintaining all things: and HIS SON JESUS

CHRIST, who, we testify, was with the Father always, before the foundation of the world, spiritually along with the Father, inexplicably begotten before all beginning; and by him were made things visible and invisible; he became man, and having conquered death, was received into the heavens to the Father; who gave him *all power, over every name of celestial, terrestrial, infernal beings, that every tongue should confess that* JESUS CHRIST *is* LORD *and* GOD; whom we believe, and expect his coming again, as the future judge of the living and the dead; who shall render to every one according to his works: and who has infused into us abundantly the gift of his HOLY SPIRIT, and the pledge of immortality; which makes them that are faithful and obedient, to be *sons of God*, and *coheirs with Christ;* whom also we confess and worship; ONE GOD IN THE TRINITY of the sacred name." Confess. § 2.

In this truly *evangelical* creed, composed both in the *letter* and in the *spirit* of the gospel, with admirable brevity and perspicuity; avoiding all scholastic subtilty, and introduction of *unscriptural* terms, we see not the slightest reference to the adoration of the Virgin *Mary*, or of *Saints* and *Angels* engrafted on the primitive creeds, from *Paganism*, by the superstition and idolatry of the *modern* Church of Rome. How would the *Apostle of Erin*, were he conscious of it, lament and deplore the blindness of his degenerate flock,

who in their daily bead roll of "vain repetitions," rehearse ten *Ave Maries*, or prayers to the Virgin, for one *Pater noster*, or prayer to GOD; and a hundred, nay, a thousand, to the Virgin, for one prayer to the HOLY GHOST!!! *

The unaffected piety and charity of St. *Patrick*, and his ardent and disinterested affection and tenderness for his *Irish* converts, breathe and glow through every line of his most interesting *Confession*. The following extracts may afford an advantageous specimen: § 14.

"When I was going to leave my country and parents, many gifts were offered me to stay, with weeping and tears; but by God's guidance I by no means consented, nor agreed with them. Indeed, not my grace, but God, who conquered in me, and resisted them all, led me to go and preach the gospel to the *Irish* Gentiles, and to endure

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* It was shrewdly remarked by *Mahomet*, in the seventh century, that "the *Trinity* of the *Christians* then consisted of the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Virgin Mother of God*." It was then, in fact, and still is, a *Quaternity in Unity*; as illustrated by a very curious engraving, found in an old edition of *Dante*, in his *Paradiso*, Canto 33, edit. 1551, in which the *Father* appears seated, with a triple crown; the *Son* with a sceptre, at his right hand; the *Holy Ghost* above both, in the form of a *Dove*; and the Virgin *Mary* below them; all enclosed in the same glory, and equally addressed by their worshippers, old and young, at the bottom of the picture.

insults from unbelievers, to encounter reproach, and many persecutions, even to bonds, on account of my peregrination; and to give up my own freedom for the benefit of others. And if I shall be found worthy, I am ready even to give up my life, without hesitation, and most willingly, for his name; and I wish there to lay it down, even to death, if the Lord would grant me that indulgence. For I am greatly a debtor to God, who bestowed on me so much grace, that many people, through me, should be *born again* unto God, and afterwards perfected; and that Clergy should every where be ordained among them, for the people lately coming to belief, whom the Lord hath taken to himself from the ends of the earth: as He had formerly promised by the prophets: '*To Thee shall the Gentiles come from the ends of the earth*, and shall say, *and there is no profit in them.*' [Jer. xvi. 19.] And again, '*I have placed thee a light among the Gentiles, that thou mayest be for salvation to the ends of the earth.*' [Isa. xlix. 6.] And there I wish to await his promise, who never deceiveth; as he promiseth in the Gospel: '*They shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.*' [Matt. viii. 11.] For as we trust, Believers shall come from all the world."

And he concludes his Confession in the following pious and affectionate strains of genuine devotion:

"Wherefore, may it be granted me by my God, never to lose his people, whom I have gained in the ends of the earth. I pray God to give me perseverance, and to deign that I may render him faithful witness, until my departure, for the sake of my God. And if I have ever imitated any good thing, for the sake of my God whom I love, I beseech Him to grant me, that with those proselytes and captives, I also may shed my blood, even if I myself should want burial, or my carcase should most miserably be torn limb from limb by dogs or wild beasts, or the fowls of the air devour it. Most assuredly, I think, if this should happen to me, I should gain my soul with my body; because, doubtless, *in that day, we shall rise again in the brightness of the Sun;* [Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43;] that is, in the glory of Christ Jesus, our Redeemer, the son of the living God; and shall be *joint heirs with Christ,* and *conformed to his* future *image:* [Rom. ix. 17, 29;] because, *of Him,* and *through Him,* and *in Him, we shall reign.* [1 Cor. viii. 6; Rev. v. 10.] For the *visible Sun,* by God's command, riseth daily, but never shall reign, nor shall his brightness remain throughout: and moreover, all they (the *Gentiles)* who adore him shall miserably come into punishment. But we *(Christians)* believe and adore the TRUE SUN [OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, Mal. iv. 2,] CHRIST, who never shall perish, neither he that doeth his will, but shall remain

for ever; WHO reigneth with GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, and with the HOLY GHOST, for all ages before and now, for all ages to come, ever more, Amen." Confess. § 21.

The scriptural references occurring in these passages, and abounding throughout the whole Confession, prove how intimately acquainted St. *Patrick* was with "the *canon* of Scripture;" in studying which he spent eighteen years with *Germanus*, according to *Jocceline*, as related in the life of *Germanus*.

Even from these he appears to have been conversant, at least, with the *Greek* Septuagint version of the Old Testament, from which some of his citations are evidently translated, where they differ both from the *Hebrew* text, and from the *Latin* vulgate; such as Jer. xvi. 19, and Isa. xlix. 6. And in the New Testament, 1 Cor. viii 6, he has introduced a reference to a third clause, *και εν πνευμα αγιον εν ω τα παντα.* "And one HOLY SPIRIT, *in whom* are all things:" which though omitted in all the printed editions and MSS. of the Greek Testament now extant, is evidently required by the context, and the tenor of Scripture, 1 Cor. xii. 4—6, Rom. xi. 36; and was cited by the primitive fathers, *Linus*, *Ignatius*, *Basil*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Epiphanius*, &c.; as shewn in *Hales on the Trinity*, vol. ii. p. 208, 251.

The labours of our Apostle, in the course of his long ministry of 60 years, were truly stupen-

dous. It is, perhaps, no exaggeration of *Nennius*, that he wrote 365 alphabets for the use of his converts, in order to enable them to read the Scriptures; founded 365 churches, ordained 365 bishops, or more, and upwards of 3000 priests (the days of the year being quaintly used for a great number. Thus, when it is said in the life of St. *Kentigern*, that in his monastery of St. *Asaph*, he had 365 monks, the learned Dr *Lloyd*, bishop himself of that see, remarks, that " no man will understand this *literally* who has seen the place." And the number of churches and monasteries is underrated; for *Colgan* says, they amounted to upwards of 700, of which he names 166, besides 66 in *Leinster* alone.

The last transactions of his life, and the account of his death, are thus recorded by *Fiech:*

23.

" When *Patrick* was in the *leprosy*,
For cure, going to *Armagh*,
THE ANGEL went before him,
On the way, in the middle of the day.

24.

He went southwards, to VICTOR,
(It was the same who called him)
The bush in which he was burned,
There they held conference.

25.

[VICTOR] said, ' Authority is given to *Armach*,
To CHRIST [give] repeated praises, thanks,

[Thy great love to heaven]
Hath prospered thy petition.

26.

The hymn you chant while living,
Shall be a breast-plate to each;
The men of *Erin*, in the day of judgment,
Shall be with the wise for ever.'

27.

Tassac remained after him,
When he gave him the communion,
He said that *Patrick* would not recover.
The sayings of *Tassac* were not false.

31.

The clergy of *Erin*, they flocked
To the funeral of *Patrick*, on every side;
The source of celestial harmony
Set each of them to sleep.

32.

The soul of *Patrick* from his body
Was separated, after his labours.
The *Angels of God*, the first night,
Kept watch without delay.

33.

While they mourned for *Patrick*,
He went to the other Patrick [Father *Abraham*],
And with joy they departed together,
To Jesus, the Son of *Mary*.

34.

Patrick, not elated with *pride*,
Produced great blessings [to the world]

He died in the service of the Son of *Mary*,
His birth was propitious."

The *leprosy* of the Saint, and his interview with VICTOR, in his way from the Abbey of *Saballum* or *Saul*, where he chiefly resided for the last thirty years of his life, rest solely on the authority of *Fiech;* who evidently combines the appearances of the Lord to *Moses* in the bush, and to *Saul* on the way to *Damascus*. And he alludes to the parable of the beggar *Lazarus*, when he states that *Patrick*, the night of his death, was carried by the *Angels of God* to "Father *Abraham*," in *Paradise*, or the upper region of departed souls, in *Hades* (to which *Christ* himself went when he expired on the Cross, Luke xxiii. 43,) reserved for the good, where "they are comforted," as contrasted with the lower region, reserved for the souls of the wicked, where "they are tormented," until the *general judgment* at the end of the world; when the former shall go to *Heaven* with CHRIST, and the latter to *Hell*, with the *Devil* and his *Angels*, for evermore. Compare Luke xvi. 19—26, with Matt. xxv. 31—46. But by an elegant anticipation, *Abraham* himself is supposed to take the soul of *Patrick* immediately to Heaven; and by a classical allusion to the name *Patricius* (derived from *pater*, "father,") *Abraham* is called the "*other Patrick*."

Hence it evidently appears that *Fiech* had no notion of a *purgatory*, or place of *temporary*

penance, even for the faithful, to *purge* away the pollutions of sin contracted in the body; but from which they may be relieved and sent to Heaven by the efficacy of *prayers* and *masses*, offered up for them by the *priests*, for pecuniary considerations. And that *Patrick* himself never dreamed of a *purgatory* (especially of that in the island of *Lough Derg*, which bears his name,) we learn from his treatise *de tribus habitaculis*, in manuscript, preserved in King *James*'s library, and cited by Archbishop *Usher*, which begins thus: *

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* *Tria* sunt sub OMNIPOTENTIS DEI nutu *habitacula:* primum, imum, medium. Quorum summum, *Regnum Dei*, vel *Regnum cœlorum* dicitur; imum, vocatur *Infernus;* medius, *mundus præsens*, vel *orbis terrarum* appellatur. Quorum extrema omnino sibi invicem sunt contraria, et nullâ sibi societate conjuncta: (quæ enim societas potest esse *luci* ad *tenebras*, CHRISTI ad *Belial?)* medium vero, nonnullam habet similitudinem ad extrema, &c. Commixtio namque malorum simul et bonorum in hoc mundo est: In Regno autem Dei, nulli mali sunt, sed omnes boni; at inferno, nulli boni sunt, sed omnes mali. Et uterque locus ex medio suppletur: Hominum enim hujus mundi alii elevantur ad cœlum, alii trahuntur ad Infernum: similes quippe similibus junguntur; id est, boni bonis, et mali malis; justi homines justis angelis, transgressores homines transgressoribus angelis, servi Dei Deo, servi Diaboli Diabolo. "*Benedicti* vocantur *ad regnum sibi paratum ab origine mundi;*" *Maledicti* expelluntur *in ignem æternum qui præparatus est Diabolo et Angelis ejus.*" *Patric. de tribus habitac* MS. *in bibliotheca regiâ Jacobæâ.*

"There are *three habitations* under the power of ALMIGHTY GOD, the first, the lowest, and the middle: of which the highest is called the *Kingdom of God*, or the *Kingdom of Heaven;* the lowest is called *Hell;* the middle is named *the present World*, or *terrestrial Globe.* These extremes are quite contrary to each other, for *what fellowship can there be between* light and darkness, *between* CHRIST and *Belial?* But the middle has some resemblance to the extremes; for in this world, there is a mixture of bad and good men together; whereas, in the Kingdom of God, there are none bad, but all good; and in Hell, there are none good, but all bad. And both these places are supplied from the middle; for of the men of this world, some are taken up to Heaven, others drawn down to Hell: and thus like to like are joined; good men to good, bad to bad, just men to just angels, wicked men to wicked angels; servants of God to servants of God, servants of the Devil to the Devil. *The blessed* are invited to *the Kingdom prepared for them from the beginning of the world;* the *cursed* are expelled into *the everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.*"

See a curious analogy between the *purgatory* of the *Papists* and of the *Mahometans;* both derived from Paganism, in *Hales's Synopsis of the Signs of the Times*, Art. xx. *of the Intermediate State.* 1817, 8vo.

St. *Patrick* died March 17, A. D. 493, at the great age of 120 years, and was buried at *Down*, where also were interred the remains of his proselyte, St. *Bridget* *, and St.

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* *Cormac*, in his Dictionary, states that "*Brigit* was a *heathen* Goddess, the daughter of *Daghda*, (*Apollo*, or the Sun,) and very great was her *Aifrion*," or Temple. *Vallancey Collectan.* Vol. vi, Part i, p. 125, *of the round Towers of Ireland.*

From this curious article it appears, that the *Christian* Saint assumed not only her predecessor's *name*, but her *round Tower* at *Kildare*, one of the highest in the kingdom, full 132 feet high; not far from which is to be seen an old building called the *Fire-house*, where the inextinguishable fire was formerly kept by the nuns of St. *Brigid.*

She was the daughter of a *Leinster* Chieftain called *Dubhtach*, born A.D. 453, who early devoted herself to a monastic life. She was a proselyte of St. *Patrick*, who notices her with high respect, among "the sons and daughters of Scottish Chieftains, who became monks and virgins of Christ;" and describes her as "a blessed virgin of a noble race, adult, and very fair, whom I baptized." Confess. sect. 16. She received the veil from the hands of St. *Macalle*, in A.D. 467, and from that time till her death, in A.D. 523, was boundless in her charities, and unrivalled in her piety and austerity. She was not only canonized after her death, but declared the perpetual patroness of Leinster, even in her lifetime. Her festival is still celebrated with great devotion on the first of February, as noticed in the old distich.

Brigida, virgo *potens*, *Februi* sibi primas calendas,
Scotorum miro *poscit* celebrata favore.

The fame of her sanctity soon spread over Europe, and at *Seville*, in Spain, at *Lisbon*, *Placentia*, in Italy, at *Tours*,

Columba * or *Columkille*, the apostle of the *Picts*;

Besançon, *Namur*, *Cologn*, in France and the Netherlands, and even in *London*, Churches were dedicated to her; and *Colgan* counts about sixty Churches and Nunneries dedicated to her, in the dioceses of *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Tuam*, *Elphin*, and *Lismore* only.

* *Columba* was of royal race, the son of *Feidhlim*, the son of *Feargus*, the son of *Conal Gulban*, the son of *Niall the Great*. He was born A.D. 525, and educated at the school of St. *Finian*, at *Clonard*, near the *Boyne*; a school so renowned, that no less than 3000 scholars have been reckoned therein, at one time, according to *Colgan*, *Usher*, &c. After his studies were completed, in which he made great proficiency, he embraced the monastic order, and was held in great reverence. But the violence of his temper, and his zeal for the privileges of his monastery, which had been violated, led him into disputes, especially with *Comhgall*, the celebrated Abbot of *Benchor*, or *Bangor*, in which much blood was spilt. This gave great scandal to the church and kingdom; and in a synod held A.D. 569, he was excommunicated, and banished from *Ireland* for ever. On his arrival in Albania, *Conal*, king of the *Dalriada*, bestowed on him the isle of *Hy*. Here he established his chief monastery; and from thence, with his disciples, he entered the country of the *Picts*, and, during his exile of thirty-three years, converted the whole country; and died at the age of seventy-seven, with the glorious title of the *Apostle of the Picts*. His submission to the censures of the synod, his profound repentance, and most exemplary life, attoning for his former offences, extorted the remark from his preceptor St. *Finian*: "That his example ought to carry as many souls to Heaven, as his wars

according to the Latin distich (more correctly from *Messingham* :)—

> In burgo *Duno*, tumulo tumulantur in uno,
> *Brigida*, *Patricius*, et *Columba* Pius.

> " In *Down*, three Saints one tomb do fill,
> *Bridget*, *Patrick*, and *Columkille*."

Afterwards, the famous *John de Courcy*, who conquered *Ulster*, about A.D. 1185, had their remains taken up, and translated into shrines, in the Cathedral Church of *Down* ; which were held in high veneration, until the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, *Leonard* Lord *Grey*, in 1538 burnt the Church, destroyed the shrines of the Saints, and committed many other sacrileges. He was beheaded himself, three years after, on *Tower-hill*.

Such was the illustrious Apostle of *Ireland*, who laboured more abundantly in planting the Gospel, than any other man, perhaps, since the days of St. *Paul*. I have briefly attempted to vindicate his character from the disgraceful fictions of his *Monkish* historians, by recurring to his genuine writings, and to the soberer testimony of his contemporary, and favourite disciple ; whose excessive veneration, however, for his master seems to have warped his judgment in a few instances. And

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had plunged into Hell." *Usher Primord. Eccles. Brit. O'Halloran's History of* IRELAND, vol. 2, p. 77—79.

such was the strictly *Evangelical* " religion, pure and undefiled," inculcated by St. *Patrick* and his immediate followers; until it became corrupted, at length, by the disastrous connexion of the *Irish* Church, with the Church and See of *Rome,* early in the twelfth century; when the *Irish* Archbishops were persuaded, through the artifices and intrigues of those active emissaries of the Papacy, *Malachy, Christian, Gilbert,* &c. to make a surrender of their exclusive privileges to *Rome,* which hitherto had been handed down inviolate from the days of St. *Patrick.*

To the flourishing state of Religion and Letters in *Ireland,* after the *Apostolic* labours of St. *Patrick,* honourable and impartial testimony is borne by *Camden, Bede,* &c.

" The Disciples of St. *Patrick* profited so notably in *Christianity,* that in the succeeding age nothing was held more holy, more learned, than " the *Scottish* (or *Irish*) Monks; insomuch that they sent out swarms of most holy men into every part of Europe; [such were *Cœlius Sedulius, Columba, Columbanus, Colman, Aidan, Gallus,* &c.] who founded the abbies of *Lieuxeu* in Burgundy; *Bobie,* in Italy, *Wirtzburg,* in Franconia, St *Gall,* in Switzerland; and *Malmsbury, Lindisfarran,* with many others, in Britain. In that age. our *Anglo-Saxons* flowed from every quarter into *Ireland,* as to a mart of sound literature. Whence in our accounts of holy men, we frequently read,

Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam, "He was sent for education to *Ireland.*" And in the Life of *Sulgen,* who flourished six hundred years ago, it is said.

Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad *Hibernos,* sophia mirabili claros.

"After the example of his fathers, inspired with love of reading,
He went to the *Irish,* renowned for admirable wisdom."

Camden Hibernia, p. 647, 648.

Bede relates, that "Many of the English, both nobles, and of mean parentage, in the time of Bishops *Finan* and *Colman,* went to Ireland for instruction in divinity, and in the greater continency, or stricter discipline, of *monastic* life *, and

* "Our monasteries," says primate *Usher,* in ancient time, were the seminaries of the ministry; being, as it were, so many *colleges* of learned Divines, whereunto the people usually resorted for instruction, and the church was wont continually to be supplied with able ministers. Even *Giraldus Cambrensis,* who was no friend to the monks, acknowledges, that almost all the *prelates* of Ireland were usually chosen out of the monasteries into the clergy. The benefit of these institutions was not confined to the limits of this island, but extended itself to foreign countries likewise. For this it was, as Bede remarks, that drew *Egbert* and *Ceadda,* for example, into Ireland, that they might lead there, diligently, a monastic

delighted to visit the cells of the masters for instruction. All of whom, the *Scoti*, (or *Irish*)

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life, in prayers, and continency, and meditation of the Holy Scriptures: and hence were those famous monasteries planted in *England*, by *Aidan*, *Colman*, and others, to which, as well as to the Church, the people eagerly flocked on the Lord's day, not for the refreshing of the body, but for the hearing of the word of God."

How strict this discipline was, may appear from the penances imposed on the refractory.

By the rules of *Columbanus*, who founded the *Bobian* monastery, in *Lombardy*, A.D. 610 — "If any brother be disobedient, he shall fast two days with one biscuit and water; if any say, I will not do what is requisite, three days, with one biscuit and water; if any do not ask leave, or give a just excuse, two days, with one biscuit and water."—At the same time, they were taught the inefficacy of extreme mortifications: "What profit is it," said *Columbanus*, "to be a virgin in body, and not a virgin in mind?" He exhorts them "to profit daily, as they prayed daily, and read daily;" and when King *Sigebert* made large offers to *Columbanus* and his companions, to keep them within his dominions in *France*, they declined his invitation: "We who have left our own, that, according to the Evangelical precept, 'we might *follow the* LORD,' ought not to embrace the riches of others; lest peradventure we shall be transgressors of the divine command."

Our monks were *religious* in deed, and not in name only; free from the hypocrisy, pride, idleness, and uncleanness of those *evil beasts* and *slothful bellies*, that afterwards succeeded in their room, during the usurpations of the Church of *Rome*, and under her fostering care. Some of them worked in the garden, others dressed the orchard, *Gallus Magnoaldus*

entertaining most freely, furnished with daily provisions, books, and tuition, gratis." Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 27.

Bede also relates, that "*Alfred* the Great, King of *Northumberland*, had the reputation of a man *most learned in the Scriptures;* for, residing in *Scotland* (*Ireland*), he there imbibed celestial wisdom in his attentive soul; having left his native country, and his pleasant fields, that, in *diligent exile*, he might learn the *mystery of Godliness.*" *Life of St. Cuthbert.* This pious and learned Prince, among his other works, translated into the Saxon tongue St. *Gregory's* pastoral; and in the preface, professed that he was assisted therein by "*John*, his *Mass-Priest*," or Chaplain, usually surnamed, *Scotus*, or *Erigena;* one of the most learned Divines of his age; and the *Annals of Ulster* state, that *Alfred's* mother was *Fiona*, the daughter of *Colman*, King of *Meath;* whence he was called by the Irish, *Flanni Fioni*, "the son of *Fiona;*" and they say, that he even composed an *Irish* poem, beginning thus: "*Roidheat Iris Finu Fait.*" 2 Annal. Ull. p. 129.

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and the other followers of *Columbanus* procured their livelihood by the labour of their own hands; and the monks, in general, practised the apostle's rule, "to work with silence, and eat their own bread."

SECTION IV.

Opposition of the Irish and British, to the usurped Supremacy of the Church of Rome.

The slow but sure steps, by which the steady and unremitting policy of the Church and See of *Rome*, from small beginnings, attained to an enormous ascendancy over her sister Churches in the West, have been detailed at length, in the foregoing *Introduction*, p. 39—63.

The *Irish* and *British* Churches, however, from their first establishment, strenuously resisted the claims and encroachments of the Church and See of *Rome;* nor was the *papal* jurisdiction acknowledged in *England*, till the era of the *Norman* Conquest; and still later in *Ireland*, till the era of the invasion of *Henry* II.

I. The first opposition to the *Romish* claim of *Supremacy*, began on the part of the *Irish*. *Sedulius*, that celebrated Divine, combated successfully its assumed *scriptural* foundation, in our Lord's grant to St. *Peter*, Matt. xvi. 18, 19. He

observes * that the title of "*foundation*" is used ambiguously, in the New Testament; and he critically distinguishes the different senses in which it is so applied;—Where it is said, 'Behold, I lay in *Sion* for a *foundation*, a *Stone*, an *approved Stone*,' &c. [Isa. xxviii. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 6.] "It is certain," says he, "that by the *Rock*, or *Stone*, is signified CHRIST: But when the *Saints* of God's household are said to be built upon the *foundation* of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, JESUS CHRIST himself being the *chief corner Stone*,' [Ephes. ii. 20]; he judiciously infers from thence, that CHRIST is the *chief foundation*, likewise: "The *Apostles*," says he, "are '*a foundation*,' or rather, CHRIST is the *foundation* of the *Apostles*: for CHRIST is *the foundation*, who is also called the *Corner Stone*, joining and holding together the two walls; therefore, He is both *the* [*chief*] *foundation*, and *the* [*chief*] *Corner Stone*, because in him the

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* "*Fundamenta*"] CHRISTUM et *Apostolos* et *Prophetas*. *Sedul.* in Heb. xi.—Compertum est in *petrâ*, vel *lapide*, CHRISTUM significari. *Id.* in Rom. ix.—*Apostoli fundamentum* sunt, vel CHRISTUS *fundamentum est Apostolorum*.—Christus est fundamentum, qui etiam *lapis* dicitur *angularis*, duos conjungens et continens parietes; ideo HIC *fundamentum et summus est lapis*; quia in ipso et fundatur et consummatur Ecclesia. Id. in Ephes. ii.—Ut *ministros* Christi, non ut fundamentum. Id. in 1 Cor. iv.

Church is both founded and finished: and we are to account the *Apostles*, as *Ministers* of Christ; not as the *foundation* itself." Sedul. in Heb. xi., Rom. ix., Ephes. ii., 1 Cor. iv.

This critical distinction between CHRIST "the ROCK," or *chief foundation* of the Church; and the *Apostles* as "*foundation stones*," laid upon the rock, to form a *basis* for the Church; was given in the foregoing *Introduction*, p. 35, 36, and discovered long before its coincidence with the exposition of *Sedulius* was known. Such a venerable *Irish* authority ought surely to have great weight with the *Irish* Ecclesiastics of the present day.

And the grant itself is thus excellently expounded, by his learned countryman and successor *Claudius**.—"*Upon this rock will I build my Church*;" that is, upon the LORD THE SAVIOUR: who granted to his faithful knower, lover, and confessor, a participation of his own name; that from

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* *Super* HANC PETRAM *ædificabo Ecclesiam meam*"] id est, super DOMINUM SALVATOREM; qui fideli suo cognitori, amatori, confessori, participium sui nominis donavit, ut scilicet a *petra* "*Petrus*" vocaretur. "*ædificatur ecclesia*;"—quia non nisi per fidem et dilectionem Christi, per susceptionem sacramentorum Christi, per observantiam mandatorum Christi ad sortem electorum et æternam pertingitur vitam; Apostolo attestante, qui ait: "*Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, qui est* CHRISTUS JESUS." Claud. lib. ii. in Matt.

petra ("the rock") he should be called *Petrus* ("a Stone.") The Church is built [upon *the rock*]; because, it is only by the faith and love of Christ, by the reception of the sacraments of Christ, by the observance of the commandments of Christ, that we attain to the lot of the elect, and to eternal life; as the Apostle attests, who says, 'for *other foundation can no one lay beside that which is laid, which is* CHRIST JESUS.' [1 Cor. iii. 11.

Claudius, however, candidly admits a *primacy*, or precedence in rank, of *Peter* among the Apostles of the *circumcision;* but he contends for an *equal primacy* of *Paul*, as the Apostle of the *Gentiles:* "St. *Paul*," says he *, "names only

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* *Petrum* solum nominat, et sibi comparat [*Paulus*]; quia primatum ipse accepit ad fundandam Ecclesiam: se quoque, pari modo electum, ut primatum habeat in fundandis *Gentium* Ecclesiis. Ab his itaque probatum dicit *donum*, quod accepit a Deo, ut dignus esset habere primatum in prædicatione *Gentium;* sicut et habeat *Petrus* in prædicatione *Circumcisionis.*—*Gratiam* sibi soli primus vindicat concessam a Deo; sicut et soli *Petro* concessa est inter *Apostolos.* ["*Non sum illi inferior*,"] quia ab UNO sumus ambo in *unum ministerium* ordinati.—*Apostolum* se CHRISTI titulo prænotavit, ut ex ipsâ, lecturos nominis auctoritate terreret; judicans omnes qui in Christo crederent, debere sibi esse subjectos.—*Claud.* in Galat. i., ii., v.——Nam sicut interrogatis generaliter

Peter, and compares him to himself; because, as *Peter* received a primacy, to found the Church, so was he himself equally elected to have a primacy in founding the *Gentile* Churches; and by his *miraculous* gifts from God, proved that he was worthy to have the primacy in preaching to the *Gentiles;* as *Peter* had it, in preaching to the *circumcision.* [Galat. ii. 7; 2 Cor. xi. 5; xii 11, 12.] And therefore, "*Paul* challenges this *grace* as granted by GOD to him alone, as it was granted to *Peter* alone among the Apostles;" and he esteems himself '*not inferior to Peter,*' because both of them were ordained by ONE [GOD] to *one ministry.*" [Gal. ii. 9; Ephes. iii. 2.]—And "writing to the *Galatians,* he names himself, in the title of the Epistle, '*An Apostle of Christ,*' to the end that, by the very authority of that name, he might terrify his readers judging that *all believers in Christ* ought to be subject to him." [Gal. i. 1, 11, 12; Rom. i. 1; Ephes. i. 1; 1 Cor. i. 1; ix 1; 1 Tim. ii. 7; Tit. i. 1.]

Claudius, in addition, remarks, that the privileges granted to *Peter* by CHRIST, were extended equally to all the other Apostles: "As, when our Saviour propounded the question generally to all

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omnibus, Petrus respondit unus pro omnibus; ita quod Petro DOMINUS respondit, in Petro omnibus respondit. Id. lib. ii. in Matt.

the Apostles, [But whom say *ye* that I am ?" Matt. xvi. 15,] *Peter* answered as one for all; so, what our Lord answered to Peter, in Peter he answered to all; and, consequently *, although the power of *loosing* and *binding* might *seem* to be given by the Lord to *Peter* alone, yet, doubtless, it is to be *understood*, that it was given to the rest of the Apostles also: as CHRIST himself witnesses; who, appearing to them after the triumph of his passion and resurrection, *breathed on them*, and said to them all: "*Receive ye the Holy Spirit; whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.*" [John xx. 22, 23.]

Such are the critical explanations of our Lord's famous grant to *Peter*, founded on the ROCK CHRIST, fully confirming and justifying the foregoing exposition of it, in the INTRODUCTION, p. 27—38. And I am happy to adduce the valuable testimony of these two great Luminaries of the primitive *Irish* Church; in perfect union with the doctrine of the primitive *British* Church likewise.

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* Quæ *solvendi* et *ligandi* potestas, quamvis soli Petro data *videatur* a Domino; absque ulla tamen dubietate *noscendum est*, quia et ceteris apostolis datur: Ipso teste, qui post passionis resurrectionisque suæ triumphum, apparens, '*eis insufflavit*,' et dixit omnibus, '*Accipite Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis; et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.*" ID. lib. eod.

Gildas, also, the reputed *Briton* *, further extends the grant to all the legitimate *successors* of

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* That the Historian *Gildas Badonicus* was rather an *Irishman*, appears highly probable from the following considerations :—

1. The name *Gildas*, or *Gillas*, is exclusively Irish, signifying "a servant;" as *Gilla Patraic*, "the servant of *Patrick*: *Gilla Brighde*, "the servant of *Bridget*;" *Gilla Dia*, "the servant of God;" *Gilla Muire*, the servant of *Mary*," &c.: whence the Irish surnames *Gilpatrick*, or *Kilpatrick*; *Gilbret*, or *Gilbert*; *Gildæ*; *Gilmur*, or *Gilmore*, &c. And *Gildas*, as a proper name, occurs frequently in the Irish Annals: as *Gildas Albanicus*, the disciple of St. *Patrick*, born A.D. 425, at the same place, *Alcluid*, near *Dunbarton*, and died A.D. 520; who is frequently confounded with *Gildas Badonicus*, born the year of the siege of *Bath*, A.D. 484, and died A.D. 570, according to *Usher*. *Gildas Coemanus*, or *Gilla Coemhain*, an Irish poet of the eleventh century, who wrote a metrical chronology of the kings of Ireland, A.D. 1072. *Gildas Modudius*, another Irish chronographer, who died A.D. 1143. *Gildas Mac Liag*, Archbishop of Armagh, born A.D. 1088, died A.D. 1174, &c. &c. Whereas no Briton of the name of *Gildas* occurs in History, except "the historian of the Britons," as *Bede* styles him; who might have been an Irishman, notwithstanding.

2. The Cambrian *Caradoc*, who wrote the life of Gildas Badonicus, states, that he was the son of *Nave*, king of the Scots, or Irish, that he studied the seven arts at Armagh, and afterwards went from Ireland to Britain, where Cadoc, abbot of the Church of *Nancarban*, engaged him to direct the studies of his scholars, for one year, about 508, which

the *Apostles.* "To the *true priest,* it is [equally] said, '*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church;*' to *Peter* and his *successors,* the Lord saith, '*And to thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven:*' And likewise to *every holy priest* it is promised, '*Whatsoever*

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he did most usefully; not receiving any salary from the scholars." And in an ancient life of *Cadoc,* in the *Tinmouth* MS. *Lambeth* observes, that "*Cadoc* returning to his monastery, found Gildas, a noble scholar, with a very beautiful little bell, which he brought with him from Ireland." And the Registry of Glastonbury records, that "Gildas, the principal historian of the Britons, was the brother of Hoel king of *Scotia.*" And this is confirmed by the Cambrian writers, Galfrid, Giraldus, and Price; whose concession, in this case, is of great weight and authority, in favour of a *foreigner.*

3. Gildas, in his history, inveighs against the Britons, with greater acrimony than might have been expected, if they were his own countrymen; *Sacerdotes* habent Britanni, sed *incipientes, impudentes, raptores, subdolos, lupos ovinis pellibus; Reges* habent, sed *tyrannos; judices impios; nec* Britanni *sunt in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles.* "The Britons have clergy; but they are *unlearned, impudent, rapacious, artful, wolves in sheeps' clothing.* They have Kings, who are *tyrants;* Judges, who are *impious;* The Britons *are neither valiant in war, nor faithful in peace.*"

These arguments, which seem decisive, are collected from *O'Conor Rerum Hibernicarum,* &c. Epist. p. 196—200;—Prol. ii. p. 28, 29, &c.

thou shalt bind on earth, shall be also bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be also loosed in heaven." Whence *Gildas* pronounces of the *British* Clergy, that "they legitimately obtain the *apostolical* seat, and may legitimately sit therein, if they retain, in all things, the disposition of the Apostle:" but, on the contrary, "if with unclean feet they usurp the seat of the Apostle *Peter*, by the demerit of their covetousness, they shall fall into the pestilent chair of the traitor *Judas*."

For these important extracts we are indebted to the profoundly learned primate *Usher*, the worthy successor of these illustrious *Irish* Divines, in his *Ancient Religion of the Irish and British*, chap. vii. wherein he represents the ancient *Britons* as principally supplied with bishops, abbots, &c. from the school of St. *Patrick;* and the doctrine and discipline of both churches as the same.

2. When that ambitious pontiff, *Gregory* the Great, though under the mask of the most profound humility, attempted to domineer over the *Irish* Church, for the first time, in the noted controversy of the *three chapters*, concerning the writings and characters of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuesta*, of *Theodoret* and of *Ibas*, in the *Nestorian* heresy, about the person and nature of Christ; the *Irish* bishops peremptorily resisted his mandate, and, with good reason on their side, preferred the judgment of other Churches; as we learn from the *Romish* Annalist *Baronius*, in the following account:—

"All the bishops belonging to *Ireland* unanimously rose up with the most ardent zeal for the defence of the *three chapters.* They added also the further *crime*, that when they had perceived that the Church of *Rome* had adopted the condemnation of those chapters, along with the fifth synod of *Constantinople* (A. D. 553), and strengthened it with her concurrence, they *receded* from her, as well as others in *Italy*, in *Africa*, or in *other countries*, who adhered to the *Schismatics:* animated with the vain confidence, that they were contending for the *Catholic faith*, when they defended the decrees of the fourth General Council of *Chalcedon* (A. D. 451), approving of the three chapters. And so much the more fixedly do they adhere to their error, because whatever *Italy* suffered by the commotions of wars, by famine, or by pestilence, all these misfortunes befel her, they thought, because she had undertaken to fight for the fifth synod against the Council of *Chalcedon.*"

And this account is confirmed by *Gregory* himself, in the answer which he returned to their remonstrance: — "The commencement of your epistle has notified that you suffer a grievous persecution: — which persecution indeed, while it is not endured for a *reasonable* cause, profiteth nothing to salvation; and, therefore, it is very unfit that ye should glory in that persecution, as ye call it, by which it is certain that ye cannot be promoted

to eternal rewards. And whereas ye write, that since that time, among other provinces, *Italy* has been most afflicted, ye ought not to object that to her as a reproach; because it is written, *Whom the* LORD *loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.*" (Heb. xii. 6.)

3. When the same *Gregory* sent *Augustine*, or *Austin* the abbot, on a mission to *England*, to convert the Pagan *Saxons* to the Christian faith, he gave him a further commission to reduce the *British* Church to a conformity with the *Roman*, in the time of celebrating *Easter*, and in their mode of *tonsure*, and to submit themselves to the *primacy* of the Pope of *Rome*. *Austin*, accordingly, summoned the *British* prelates to a conference, at a place on the edge of *Worcestershire* (thence called *Augustine*'s Oak), about A. D. 604; but the British bishops and abbots, offended at the haughty demeanour of *Austin*, who neither rose to meet them, nor saluted them as brethren, but sat, like a pontiff, in his chair, rejected his proposals of accommodation, and disclaimed his jurisdiction. In support of the authority of their *ceremonies*, they alleged, that they were not only sanctioned by St. *Eleutherius* the pope, their first instructor, from the very infancy almost of the Church; but had also been observed hitherto, by their *holy fathers*, the friends of God, and the followers of the Apostles; and, therefore, that they ought not to change

them for *new Dogmatists.* * And *Dino*, the abbot of *Bangor*, in the name of the rest, thus meekly disclaimed the *papal* primacy:—"As to the subjection you require, be thus persuaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all subjects and servants to the *Church of* God (yea, to the *Pope of Rome*, and to every *good Christian*) to help them forward, both by word and deed, to become the *children of* God. Other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the *Pope;* and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every good Christian, continually. Besides, we are governed, under God, by the *Bishop of Caerleon*, who is appointed to oversee us in spiritual matters."

To which *Austin* (says *Milton*, in his History of England) thus *presaging*, some say *menacing*, replies:—"Since ye refuse to accept of peace with your brethren, ye shall have war from your enemies: and since ye will not, with us, preach the word of life to whom ye ought; from their hands ye shall receive death." This fell out accordingly; for *many years were not past*, when *Ethelfrid*,

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* Auctorizabant suas ceremonias non solum a S. *Eleutherio*, papa, primo institutore suo, ab ipsâ pæne infantiâ Ecclesiæ dicatas; verùm a *sanctis patribus suis*, Dei amicis, et apostolorum sequacibus, hactenus observatas; quas non deberent mutare propter *novos dogmatistas*.—This appeal to the authority of Pope *Eleutherius*, supports the authenticity of his letter to king *Lucius*, before, p. 107.

king of *Northumberland,* either of his own accord, or instigated by *Austin* or his Clergy, made war on the *Britons;* and, when ready to give the onset on their forces at *Caerlegion,* or *West Chester*, he observed a company of men, not habited for war, standing together, in a place of some safety, and by them a squadron armed; and finding, on enquiry, that they were *priests* and *monks* of *Bangor* assembled there, after three days fasting, to pray for the good success of their force against him:—*therefore they first,* said he, *shall feel our swords; for they who pray against us fight heaviest against us by their prayers, and are our dangerousest enemies;* and, with that, turns his first charge against the *monks. Brockmail,* the captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves about 1200 monks to a sudden massacre, whereof scarce 50 escaped." *Usher* dates this massacre A. D. 612, or A. D. 613; and *Bede* says it happened long after the death of Austin, who died Archbishop of *Canterbury,* in A. D. 617; and therefore, probably, about A. D. 620, the commencement of the *persecutions* of the Church, for a period of 1260 years, by the *Papal* and *Mahometan* powers, foretold *Daniel* vii. 24, 25; xii. 7; *Rev.* xi. 2, 3. See *Hales' New Analysis of Chronology,* vol. ii. pp. 547—549; 566—568; or his *Synopsis of the Signs of the Times.*

4. An attempt was made, about the same time, by some Missionaries, sent over to assist *Austin*

by Pope *Gregory*, to prevail on the *Irish* bishops to submit, in the foregoing points, to the authority of the See of Rome; but it proved equally unsuccessful. Their address, however, was highly respectful, in the epistle they wrote on the occasion: * — "*Laurentius*, *Mellitus*, and *Justus*, bishops, servants of the servants of God, to our Lords and dearly beloved brethren, the *bishops* and *abbots* throughout all *Scotia (Ireland)*;" and in it they complain of the aversion of their countrymen in England: — "We knew the *Britons* [and hoped to find the *Scots* (or *Irish*) better disposed]; but we learned, by means of *Daganus* the bishop, coming [from *Ireland*] into this island, and *Columbanus*, the abbot in *Gaul*, that they differ in nothing from the Britons in their conversation; for *Daganus*, the bishop, coming to us, not only would not eat with us, but not even in the same lodging in which we dieted."

And *Columbanus*, the abbot, wrote a letter to pope *Gregory* himself, reproving his innovations

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* Dominis charissimis fratribus, episcopis vel abbatibus, per universam *Scotiam*; *Laurentius*, *Mellitus* et *Justus* episcopi, servi servorum Dei—Sed cognoscentes *Britones*—*Scottos* vero per *Daganum* episcopum in hanc insulam, et *Columbanum* abbatem in *Gallis* venientem, nihil discrepare a *Britonibus*, in eorum conversatione didicimus: nam *Daganus* episcopus, ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo versebamur, sumere voluit. *Laurent. apud Bed.* lib. ii. cap. 4.

with great freedom. In a letter to his *Gallican* brethrenhe says: "What the *western* churches think of the *pascal* controversy, I have signified to the pope."* And on the subject of the *three chapters* he wrote afterwards to Pope *Boniface* IV. at the instigation of *Agilulf*, king of the *Lombards*, in the year 612; the letter itself deserves to be recorded as a curious monument of the extravagant adulation usually offered to the popes at that time, of the formidable powers they assumed, and of the sage advice which a simple ecclesiastic dared to offer to this mighty potentate.

The title, or quaint superscription, is as follows in the original, of which an extract is furnished by *O'Conor*, Epist. Nunc. pp. 134, 135, 138. *Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europæ Ecclesiarum Capiti, Papæ prædulci, Præcelso Præsuli, Pastorum Pastori, Reverendissimo Speculatori; Humillimus Celsissimo, Minimus Maximo, Agrestis Urbano, Micrologus Eloquentissimo, Extremus Primo, Peregrinus Indigenæ, Pauperculus Præpotenti; Mirum dictu! Nova res! Rara Avis! Scribere audet* BONIFACIO PATRI *Palumbus.* †

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* Quod occidentales Ecclesiæ de pascha sentiunt, *papæ* per tres tomos innotui: et adhuc Sancto fratri Vestro *Arigio*, brevi libello, hoc idem scribere præsumpsi. *Columban.* Epist. secunda ad *Gallos.*

† Here *Columbanus*, alluding to his own name, styles himself, with affected humility, *Palumbus*, a "wood-quest," or wild pigeon; instead of *Columba*, "a dove," or tame pigeon.

The admonition proceeds thus*:—"Watch. therefore, *pope;* I beseech thee, *watch;* and again

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* Quartam Epistolam ad *Bonifacium* IV. scripsit *Columbanus,* instigante Longobardarum rege *Agilulfo,* contra trium capitulorum susceptionem, in qua his verbis pontificem alloquitur:—"*Vigila* itaque quæso, *papa, vigila,* et iterum dico, *vigila.* Te totum expectat, *qui potestatem habes omnia ordinandi, bellum instituendi, duces excitandi, arma corripi jubendi, aciem instruendi, tuba undique sonandi, certamen, demum, te in fronte gradiente, ineundi.* Vos prope cœlestes estis, et *Roma orbis terrarum, caput est Ecclesiarum,* salva loci Dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativa. Et ideo, sicut magnus honor vester est pro dignitate cathedræ, ita magna cura vobis necessaria est, ut non perdatis vestram dignitatem propter aliquam perversitatem. Tamdiu enim *potestas* apud vos erit, quamdiu *recta ratio* permanserit. Nemo nescit qualiter SALVATOR NOSTER, S. *Petro regni cœlorum contulit claves,* et vos per hoc forte, *superciliosum nescio quid, præ cæteris, vobis majoris authoritatis, ac in divinis rebus, potestatis, vindicatis.* Noveritis minorem fore potestatem vestram, apud Dominum, si vel cogitatis hoc in cordibus vestris; quia *unitas fidei in toto orbe, unitatem fecit potestatis et prærogativæ.* Jam *vestra culpa est, si vos deviasti de vera fiducia, et primam fidem irritam fecistis.* Merito *vestri juniores* vobis resistunt, et merito vobiscum non communicant, donec perditorum memoria deleatur, et oblivioni tradatur. Si enim hæc certa magis quam fabulosa sunt, versa vice, *filii vestri in caput conversi sunt, vos vero in caudam,* quod etiam dici dolor est. Ideo et *vestri erunt judices, qui semper orthodoxam fidem servaverunt,* quicunque illi fuerint; etiamsi *Juniores* vobis videantur."— "*Nullum* fuisse in *Hibernia hæreticum, nullum Judæum, nullum schismaticum testor; fides enim Catholica sicut a vobis pri-*

I say, *watch*. The whole world looks up to thee, who hast *the power of ordaining all things, of making war, of exciting captains, of ordering suddenly to arms, of drawing up an army, of sounding the trumpet every where, of entering, in fine, the front of the battle. You* are *almost celestial;* and *Rome the head of the churches of the globe,* saving the singular prerogative of [*Jerusalem*] the place of our Lord's resurrection. And, therefore, as your honour is great, in proportion to the dignity of your see, so is great care necessary for you not to lose your dignity on account of any perversity."

And he continues to warn him of the mischievous consequences of overweening pride and superciliousness.

" For so long will you retain *power*, as long as *right reason* shall thoroughly direct you. No one is ignorant in what manner our Saviour *gave to St. Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven;* and you, perhaps, in consequence of this, assume an *unaccountable arrogance* of *greater authority over others, and power in spirituals.* But know, that your power with THE LORD will be less, if you ever think so in your heart; because it was *the unity of faith in the whole world* which gained you *unity of*

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mum, SS. scilicet Apostolorum successoribus, tradita est, inconcussa tenetur."

Columb. Epist. IV. in Collect. Sacris Lovanii, 1667, or *O'Conor,* Epist. Nuncup. pp. 134, 135, 138, 139.

power and prerogative. So that now, *it is your fault, if you have deviated from the true faith, and made void your first faith.* Justly do your *juniors* resist you, and justly do they not communicate with you, until the memory of your destructive [decrees] be blotted out, and consigned to oblivion; for if these charges be certain, and not groundless, by a remarkable reverse, *your sons are converted into the head, and you into the tail* (Deut. xxviii. 13.); which is grievous even to be mentioned. Therefore *shall they also be your judges* (Matt. xii. 27.) *who have always kept the Catholic faith,* whoever they be; even although they may seem to be your *juniors.*" And he explicitly asserts the orthodoxy of his own country: — "In *Ireland* there has been neither *heretic,* nor *Jew,* nor *schismatic;* for there the *Catholic faith is maintained unshaken,* according as it was *first delivered by you,* namely, *the successors of the holy apostles.*"

This frank and honourable testimony of a most competent judge, to the *orthodoxy* of the primitive *Irish* Church, so undauntedly addressed to a pontiff, both able and willing to disprove it, if unfounded, is of the highest value. It also completely refutes the *monkish* tales of the interference of former popes, *Cœlestine,* &c. to put down the *Pelagian* heresy in *Ireland.* Her own *synods* were fully equal thereto; as we have seen in the case of *Colum-kille.*

5. In the *British* Church, the controversy about keeping *Easter*, and the mode of tonsure, according to the rites of the Church of *Rome*, was revived not long after, by her partizans, in consequence of the letter of Pope *Honorius*, A. D. 625, to the *British* and *Irish* Churches on that subject; but the *Irish* Bishop *Aidan*, and his successor *Finan*, settled in *Northumberland*, strenuously opposed the innovation; pleading that they could not keep *Easter* according to the *Romish* rite, without violating the custom of their own country; and *Colman*, the third in succession, Archbishop of *York*, after a formal conference on the subject with *Wilfrid*, the Pope's advocate, at the synod of *Strenshal*, in *Yorkshire*, held A. D. 664, when *Oswy*, the king of *Northumberland*, present at the conference, was intimidated by the apprehension of exclusion from Heaven, if he offended Saint *Peter*, *who kept the keys*, by deciding against the Pope (as artfully suggested by *Wilfrid*). *Colman*, rather than acquiesce, relinquished his see in favour of *Wilfrid;* and returned to *Ireland*, his native country, with all his followers.

In what detestation the arrogant claims and encroachments of Papal *Rome* were held, in *Wales* especially, we learn from the poems of *Taliessin*, the bard, who flourished about A. D. 620, according to *Usher*.

1. *

" Woe be to that priest, yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among;
Woe be to that shepherd, I say,
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong;
Woe be to him that doth not keep
From *Romish wolves his erring sheep,*
With staff and weapon strong.

2. †

" What is the name of the *Porter* [of Heaven]?
Who is the *Intercessor?*
The great and beneficent *Son of Mary.*"

At length, in the course of the eighth century, the *Irish* and *Picts* were prevailed on, principally by *Adamnanus,* to conform to the Romish usage in these points; and the *Britons,* in the course of the ninth. The question, however, was still kept afloat; for in the days of *Methodius,* Patriarch of

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* Gwaér offeiriad byd
Nys engreisstia gwyd
Ac ny phregetha:
Gwae ny chsidw ey gail
Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny cheidw ey dheuaid
Rac bleidhie, rhufeniaid
Aiffon gnwppa.
Chronicle of Wales, p. 254.

† Pwy eneu y porthawr?
Pwy y periglawr?
Y *Fab Mair* meuinfawr.

Constantinople, A. D. 842, " Certain clergy, who dwelt in the *isles of the Ocean*, and the utmost borders of the habitable world, are said to have repaired thither, to enquire some *ecclesiastical* traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of *Easter;* as we learn from the Greek writers of *Chrysostom*'s life: they evidently preferring the authority of the *Greek* Church to the *Roman*."—*Usher's Religion of the Ancient Irish*, chap. x. p. 110, 111.

6. The *Romanists* boast of the great success of *Austin* in converting the *Pagan Saxons* to Christianity; for which he was rewarded with the see of *Canterbury;* but the principal merit of their conversion is due to the zealous labours of *Irish* Missionaries. In justice to them Primate *Usher* observes (*Ancient Religion of the Irish*, p. 112):—" St. *Aidan* and St. *Finan* deserve to be honoured by the *English* nation with as venerable a remembrance as *Austin* the monk and his followers; for by the ministry of *Aidan* was the kingdom of *Northumberland* recovered from Paganism (whereunto belonged then, beside the shire of *Northumberland*, and the lands beyond it unto *Edinburgh* Frith, *Cumberland* also, and *Westmoreland*, *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, and the bishopric of *Durham*); and by the means of *Finan*, not only was the kingdom of the *East Saxons* (which contained *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and half of *Hertfordshire*) regained, but also the large kingdom of *Mercia*, which compre-

hended under it *Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire,* and the other half of *Hertfordshire.*

"The *Scottish* (or *Irish*) that professed no subjection to the Church of *Rome* (proceeds *Usher*), were they that sent *preachers* for the conversion of those countries, and ordained *bishops* to govern them; namely, *Aidan, Finan,* and *Colman* successively, for the kingdom of *Northumberland*; for the *East Saxons, Cedd* (brother to *Ceadda,* the Bishop of *York*); for the middle *Angles,* which inhabited *Leicestershire,* and the *Mercians, Diuma* (for "the paucity of priests," saith Bede, "constrained one bishop to be appointed over two people"); and after him *Cellach* and *Trumhere.*

"And these, with their followers, notwithstanding *their division from the Church of Rome,* for their *extraordinary sanctity* of life and *painfulness of preaching the Gospel* (wherein they went far beyond those of the other side, *Wilfrid* and *Cuthbert,* &c. that afterward thrust them out, and entered upon their labours) were exceedingly reverenced by all that knew them; *Aidan* especially, who, although he would not keep *Easter* contrary to the manner of them that sent him (says *Bede*), yet he was careful diligently to perform the works of *faith, godliness,* and *love,* according to the man-

ner used by all godly men. Whereupon he was worthily beloved by all, even by them also who thought otherwise of *Easter* than he did; and was held in reverence, not only by them that were of meaner rank, but also by the bishops themselves, *Honorius* of *Canterbury*, and *Felix* of the *East Angles*."

This influence of the *Irish* Missionaries abundantly refutes the boastings of the *Romanists*, as to the extent of the conversions effected by their Missionaries in *England*.

II. Hence, the kings of *Saxon* race strenuously maintained their own *ecclesiastical* supremacy, in opposition to the claims of the see of *Rome*. When *Wilfrid*, the papal advocate, who was appointed Bishop of *Northumberland* in *Colman*'s room, had been deprived of his see for contumacy, by the authority of *Ecfrid* the king, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and threatened to appeal to *Rome*, in A. D. 679, his appeal was fruitless; for the pope's bull only excited general surprize and indignation; and it ended in his banishment. Whereupon, not daring to return to the north, he repaired to the Isle of *Wight*, and planted the Gospel among the *South Saxons*.

How assiduously the union of *Church* and *State* was maintained in their *laws*, enacted in the *Wittenagemottes*, or "assemblies of their wise men," or national parliaments, will appear from the following instances: —

1. *Ina*, king of the *West Saxons*, married a second wife, *Guala*, the daughter of *Cadwaladar*, the last king of the *Britons*, as we have seen, p. 112; and in her right he inherited *Cambria*, thenceforth called by her name *Wales*, *Cornwall*, and the *British* crown. He was the first who was crowned King of the *Anglo-Saxons* and *British* conjointly, A. D. 712; and the first measure of this wise prince, "by the advice and consent of all the *bishops* and *chiefs*, and the *wise men* and *people* of the whole kingdom," was to unite the two nations by *intermarriages* as speedily as possible; which he effected.

The preamble of his code of *laws*, enacted A. D. 696, marks the close alliance between the *Church* and *State* in those early times:—

"I, *Ina*, by the grace of God, King of the *West Saxons*, with the counsel and learning of the bishops *Ceadda* and *Eakenwold*, with all my *senators* and *wise elders of the people*, and with numbers of the *clergy*, counsellors, concerning the *salvation of our souls* and the *establishment of our nation*."

The very first statute in this code was for the propagation of *Christianity*.

"Every infant shall be *baptized* within thirty days; and if not baptized, the parents shall be fined thirty marks. If the child shall die without baptism, they shall forfeit all their goods."

This prince, however undesignedly, furnished an opening for Papal encroachments afterwards, A. D.

727, in his grant of *Peter's Pence* to the Pope, for the support of a *Saxon* college at *Rome*. — *Anderson on Commerce*, vol. i. p. 28.

2. *Offa*, king of *Mercia*, A. D. 757, also enacted a code of laws upon the same principles. He granted to the Pope a perpetual tribute of *Peter's Pence*, out of every house in the kingdom; for consenting, perhaps, says *Huntingdon*, to translate the primacy of *Canterbury* to *Litchfield*, in his own dominions. Thus artfully did the Popes commence their encroachments, by working on the *superstition* or the *ambition* of these princes.

3. *Ethelbert*, king of the *West Saxons*, A. D. 860, revived and enlarged the code of *Ina*. — The next of their legislators was his brother.

4. The illustrious *Alfred*, A. D. 871. This wise and good prince, and actually the first king of *all England*, in the great Council held A. D. 867, collected all the laws of *Ina*, *Offa*, and *Ethelbert* together, and committed them to writing. The preamble grounds their validity on the *Decalogue*, in the 20th chapter of *Exodus*; and on the decree of the first Council of *Jerusalem*, addressed to the *Gentile* Churches of *Antioch*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia* (Acts xv. 6—31); both of which it recites: justly considering the DIVINE LAWS as the basis of *British* laws; and while his code inculcated and sanctioned true *religion* in his dominions, it prohibited *idolatry*, under severe penalties; and thereby virtually rejected the communion of the *modern*

Church of *Rome*; asserting the prerogative of the crown and the privilege of parliament, with respect to *religious establishments*, in strict consistency with our 37th Article of religion.

5. *Edmund*, the grandson of *Alfred* the Great, A. D. 942, inherited his religious spirit. His first law begins thus: — "I *Edmund*, king, signify to all people, old and young, within my dominion, that, with the advice of my counsellors, as well amongst the *clergy* as the *laity*, that it is our intention to uphold the *Christian Religion* as much as possible."

6. *Edgar*, A. D. 959, in like manner thus prefaces his laws: — "Laws which King *Edgar* made in full senate, to the *glory of God*, the *honour of the king*, and the *advantage of the state*."

7. His son *Ethelred*, A. D. 1000, likewise: — "This is the enactment which the king of the *English*, and his counsellors, *priests* as well as *laymen*, ordain,

"First, That we should honour *one God*, and diligently keep *one Christian faith*, and entirely reject all *Paganism*; — for a *Christian* king, in a *Christian* nation, is the *vicar of Christ*; and should diligently avenge an injury done to Christ."

The *Danish* kings also trod in the steps of their *Saxon* predecessors.

A. D. 1017. "The enactment of *Canute*, king of *England*, *Denmark*, &c. with the advice of his counsellors: — First, Above all things, to *love one*

God, and maintain *one Christian faith* unanimously, and to *love* and *honour the king*. We strictly forbid all *Paganism*, — for Paganism is *idolatry*; and we study always, by every means, how to advance the *national welfare*, and how to exalt the *true Christian faith*."

8. The last of the *Saxon* line, *Edward* the Confessor, A. D. 1042, framed a code of laws in Latin, collected from the best laws of his predecessors; which forms a considerable part of the existing *Common Law* of *England*, so called from its being conducive to the *common weal*.

This prince, though a devotee to the Church, whence he derived the name of *Confessor*, appointed both bishops and abbots by his own authority. Of this *Ingulphus*, a contemporary writer, gives a remarkable instance, in the nomination of *Wulgate*, to be Abbot of *Croyland Abbey*; whom the king constituted, by delivering him the pastoral staff of his predecessor; and sent a letter to the sub-prior and monks of the abbey, informing them that "he had supplied the loss they had lately suffered by the death of their father *Brichtmer*, the abbot, by setting over them, as their prelate, father *Wulgate*." *Patrum Wulgatum vobis in prælatum preficiendo*. And *Ingulphus* positively declares, That the primitive *canonical* usage of first electing *bishops* by the deans and prebendaries of the Cathedral Churches of which they were to be made bishops, and of *abbots*, by the monks of the

convents of which they were to be made abbots, had long since been disused or neglected. *A multis itaque annis retroactis, nulla electio prælatorum erat merè libera et canonica;* sed *omnes dignitates* tam *episcoporum* quam *abbatum*, per annulum et baculum, *regis cura* pro suâ complacentiâ conferebat. See Gale's edition of *Ingulphus*, p. 62—64; or Baron *Maseres'* valuable edition of *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum*, enriched with his notes. 1783, quarto, p. 234.

This curious sketch of the free and independent spirit of the *Saxon* laws, is chiefly taken from an excellent tract: *The Rights of the Church attested by Historical Documents*, 1813. Stockdale, jun.

III. We may date the first introduction of *Papal* jurisdiction into *England*, from the era of the *Norman conquest*, A. D. 1066; when the authority of the Pope was first called in by the Conqueror, to promote his political views: — 1. To sanction his unjust invasion of *England*, by a consecrated banner from Pope *Alexander* II.; — 2. To humble the *Saxon prelates* and *clergy*, who were hostile to his government; — and, 3. To aggrandize his *Norman* and *Italian* prelates, who, being foreigners, and trained in the principles and practice of *slavery*, had contracted a reverence for it, and took pleasure in riveting the chains of a *free-born* people, who long resisted his usurpation. *Blackstone, ibid.*

By the authority of the Pope's *legate*, now for the first time introduced into *England*, he deposed

that rich, profligate, and intriguing prelate, *Stigand*,* Archbishop of Canterbury, for the alleged offence of *Simony;* but his chief crime was his attempt, with the *English* nobility, to set up *Edgar Atheling*, the rightful heir to the crown, in opposition to the Conqueror. In his room *William* appointed *Lanfranc*, of *Lombardy:* a prelate indeed of pre-eminent piety and worth, who, by his influence, prevailed on the king to remit many rigorous exactions and impositions upon the people, and feared not to oppose the king's brother *Odo*, in his encroachments upon the Church. This heroic prince, indeed, always exercised the established prerogative of appointing all the bishops and ab-

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* "King *Edward the Confessor*, a little before his death, lying speechless two days, the third day, after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray that if it were a true vision, not an illusion, which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout monks, who he knew in *Normandy*, who had lived well and died well; who, appearing, told him they were sent *messengers from God*, to foretel that, because the great ones of *England*, dukes, lords, bishops, and abbots, were not ministers of God, but *ministers of the Devil*, God had delivered the land to their enemies; and when he desired that he might reveal this vision, to the end that they might repent, it was answered, *They neither will repent, nor will God pardon them.* At this relation, others trembling, *Stigand*, the *simonious* Archbishop, whom *Edward*, much to blame, had suffered many years to sit *primate* of the Church, is said to have laughed, as at the feverish dream of a doating old man. But the event proved true." — *Milton's Hist. of England.*

bots, both in *England* and *Normandy*, but with much wisdom and discretion; for he usually called a meeting of bishops, abbots, and other wise counsellors, to enquire of them the persons whom they thought fittest to be entrusted with the government of the Church, for learning, morals, and prudence; and he generally appointed the persons whom they agreed in recommending. *Denique illum, quem pro vitæ merito et sapientiæ doctrinâ, provisio sapientum elegebat, benevolus rex dispensatorem et rectorem episcopatus vel abbatiæ constituebat. Ordericus vitalis.* — *Maseres, Excerpta*, p. 233.

In the fourth year of his reign, A. D. 1070, by the advice of his barons, he chose twelve men from each county to report to him the *English* laws and customs. In their report, it seems, the duty of the *king* was thus prescribed: —

"It is the duty of a *Christian king* to be in the place of a *father* to a Christian nation; and to be, in prudence and tutelary care, as he is styled, *The Vicar of Christ*; and it behoves him to love Christianity with his whole soul, and to avoid *Heathen* doctrines, — to venerate and diligently defend the *Church of God*, and as diligently as possible to pacify and settle his people in the *true doctrine*; and from this much good will result to him." When he swore to maintain the laws of *Edward* the Confessor, he declared, "A king, because he is the *vicar of the Supreme King*, is ordained for this purpose, to rule and defend the *kingdom* and *people*

of the Lord, and above all the *holy Church* (See *Jewel's Defence of his Apology,* p. 522.); and accordingly, when the imperious *Hildebrand,* or Pope *Gregory* VII, after he had humbled the Emperor of *Germany,* and awed the other sovereigns of *Europe,* required *William* to swear fealty to the Pope, as holding the crown of *England* under the papal grant, he peremptorily refused :-- "I never paid (said he in his letter) nor will I pay you homage; because I neither paid it myself, nor do I find that my predecessors paid it to your predecessors." Knowing his resolute character, *Hildebrand* thought fit to wave his claim for the present; and so jealous was *William* of his royal prerogative, that he never would suffer a *synod* to be held without his own permission; and declared that no archbishop or bishop in his realm should pay any regard to the *Pope*'s mandate.

However, by the introduction of the despotic *feudal* system of the continent, in violation of the *common law,* whereby the lands of all private proprietors were declared to be holden of the prince; and also by separating the *ecclesiastical* from the *civil* jurisdiction, and ordering all causes relating to religion to be tried in the *bishop*'s courts, according to the *canon* law; contrary to the former usage, whereby the *bishop* and *aldermen,* conjointly, in every shire, administered justice to the clergy and laity alike, according to the *Saxon* laws: he opened a door for the introduction of *Romish jurisdiction,*

which his successors were long unable to shut. The use indeed of the *canon* law, immediately led to this, by promoting *appeals* to *Rome* in doubtful cases, where this law was best understood and expounded. And that such appeals began at this time, we may collect from the act of his son, *William Rufus*, A. D. 1087, prohibiting all appeals to the Court of *Rome*, as "*unheard of in his realm*, and *quite contrary to its usages*."

When *Henry* I. the youngest son of the Conqueror, was crowned king, A. D. 1100, in prejudice to the claim of his eldest brother *Robert*; *Anselm*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and creature of the Pope, taking advantage of his precarious title, extorted from him the *nomination to bishoprics*, — that ancient prerogative of the crown.

Next *Stephen*, the usurper, in A. D. 1135, after a long contest with the bishops, was forced to submit to an appeal from his authority to the Pope's legate. Until at length, in the precarious reign of king *John*, that imperious pontiff, *Innocent* III. imposed upon this pusillanimous prince a voluntary surrender of his crown to *Pandulph*, the Pope's legate, to be held in future by him as a vassal of the Holy See, at an annual rent of one thousand marks, A. D. 1213.

In the reign of *Henry* III. the parliament held A. D. 1244, objected to the exactions of the legates,— alleging the poverty of the kingdom and of the clergy; and observed that the Pope's imposi-

tions were burdensome to the kingdom; and that if he wanted relief, he ought to apply to a General Council.

Edward I., A.D. 1272, a wise and magnanimous prince, was the first who set himself in earnest to shake off this *foreign* yoke. He would not permit his bishops to attend a General Council till they swore not to receive the *papal* benediction: he set at nought all the Pope's bulls and processes; attacking *Scotland* in defiance of the one; and seizing the *temporalities* of his clergy, who, under pretext of of the other, refused to pay a tax imposed by parliament. He enacted the statute of *Mortmain*, in the sixth year of his reign, against bequests of *ecclesiastical* property to the Church; thereby closing the great gulph that threatened to swallow up all the land of the kingdom; and, in the thirty-fifth, was passed the first act against *papal provisions*, grants, or bulls. And when one of his subjects had obtained a bull of *excommunication* against another, he ordered him to be executed as a *traitor*, according to the ancient law. And, with his consent, a letter was written by parliament to Pope *Boniface* VIII; in which the Lords and Commons declared, that they were bound by *oath* to observe and defend the *liberties*, *customs*, and *ancient laws* of the realm, and would maintain them with all their power and might; and that they neither did, nor ever would, nor ought, to suffer the *king* to do any thing to the *subversion of the statutes* of the kingdom, and to

the prejudice of *its liberties, customs,* and *laws.*—Such was the *pious* and *patriotic* spirit which actuated this early *Roman Catholic* parliament!

In the weak reign of *Edward* II. the Papal See endeavoured to renew their encroachments, which were manfully resisted by the parliament; and one of the charges on which that unhappy prince was deposed, A. D. 1327, was, That he had given allowance to the *bulls of the See of Rome.*

His son *Edward* III. treading in the steps of his grandfather, set himself seriously to retrench the papal encroachments. In the seventeenth year of his reign, A. D. 1343, the earls, barons, knights, and burgesses, in full parliament, wrote a letter to Pope *Clement* VIII. complaining grievously of the collation of ecclesiastical benefices upon *foreigners,* to the impoverishment of the nation, and the detriment of religion and morals; and praying his Holiness to revoke all such collations and provisions, that fit men of the *natives* might supply the cures; otherwise, that they would themselves take speedy methods of redress; but receiving a contemptuous and menacing answer, the king and parliament passed the famous statute of *Provisors* that same year, prohibiting all such provisions and collations within the realm, upon pain of *imprisonment* or *death,* to any such person as shall, for the time to come, present, or admit any person or persons so presented by the Pope, to the prejudice of the king's royal prerogative; and accordingly writs

were directed to the archbishops, bishops, and others concerned, strictly forbidding them to act contrary to this statute."

Notwithstanding this act, the Pope, next year, sent two cardinals, with provisions for benefices next vacant, to the value of two thousand marks; but the king and nobles sent them back, with letters, purporting a full resolution to withstand them; and accordingly this act was followed by others more express and severe, (25 *Edw.* III. c. 6; 27 *Edw.* III. stat. 1, c. 1; 38 *Edw.* III. stat. 1, c. 4; stat. 2, c. 1, 2, 3, 4); enacting, 1. That the *Court of Rome* should not collate or present to any bishopric or benefice in *England;* — 2. That whoever disturbed any *patron* in the presentation of a living, by virtue of a papal provision; — or, 3. Who should cite the *king* or any of his *subjects* to answer in the Court of *Rome*, for opposing such provision, should pay fine and ransom to the king, according to his will and pleasure."

These strong proceedings were heinously resented by the Holy See, but in vain; and afterwards, when Pope *Urban* V. attempted to revive the claim of *vassalage* and *annual tribute*, conceded by king *John*, it was unanimously agreed, by all the estates of the nation, in the parliament held 40 *Edw.* III., That king *John*'s grant was null and void; having been given *without the concurrence of parliament*, and in *violation of his coronation oath;* and all the *temporal* Lords and the

Commons engaged, That if the Pope should attempt, by process or otherwise, to maintain such *usurpations*, they would resist and withstand him with all their power; and by the statute of 18 *Edw.* III. the Pope was declared "the *common enemy* of the king and realm."*— See *Daniel's Hist. of England*, and *Blackstone's Comment*. b. iv. c. 8.

This wise prince also endeavoured to check the rage for pilgrimages to *Rome*, *Compostella*, &c. which drained the nation of immense sums of money. When many of his subjects applied for licences to attend the *jubilee* at Rome, A. D. 1350, he granted them, only on condition that they should take with them no more money than was sufficient for their *reasonable* expences. *Rymer's Fœdera.* — How necessary the restriction was, we may judge from the Cardinal Bishop of *Winchester*, afterwards licenced by *Henry* VI. to attend the council of *Basil*, A. D. 1433, who took with him *ten thousand* pounds sterling.

In the reign of *Richard* II. it was found necessary to strengthen and sharpen those laws. In his first year, A. D. 1377, Parliament enacted, That the *Pope's collector* should no longer gather the *first fruits* of ecclesiastical benefices, and the clergy no longer pay them; and 2. That no Englishman should

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* In a later parliament, 49 Edw. III. the *papal usurpations* were declared to be the cause of all the plagues, famines, injuries, and poverty of *England!* — *Anderson, Hist. Commerce*, vol. 1. p. 204.

farm any benefice for an *alien;* both, under the penalty of the statute of *provisors.* And the statute of 16 *Richard* II. c. 5. enacts, That "whoever procures at *Rome,* or elsewhere, any translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things against the king, his crown and realm; and all persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be put out of the king's protection, and their lands and goods forfeited to the king's use; and they shall be attached by their bodies to answer to the king and his council; otherwise, process of *præmunire facias* shall be made out against them, as in other cases of *provisors.*"

This important act is generally referred to in all subsequent statutes, under the title of the statute of *Præmunire;* a barbarous word for *præmonere;* from the leading words of the writ or process, *præmunire facias,* A. B. &c. "Take care to *forewarn* A. B. that he appear before us, to answer the contempt wherewith he stands charged." And hence, not only the writ, but the offence itself of *maintaining the papal power,* which first gave rise thereto, in common speech, is denominated *præmunire;* as judiciously remarked by *Blackstone,* ibid.

When the English Parliament deposed *Rich.* II. among other charges, for procuring "*a bull from the Pope,* for the more certain observance of some statutes made by him and his parliament," (which they considered as derogatory to the regal dignity, and a wrong to the nation) they secured the elec-

tion of *Henry* IV. by passing a declaratory act in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1390, "That the crown of the realm of *England*, and the jurisdiction belonging thereto, and also the whole realm itself, still is, and in *all past times* hath been, at such *liberty*, and enjoyed such an *indifferent act* and *absolute prerogative*, that neither the *Pope*, nor any other prince or potentate out of the kingdom, ought or may intrude himself, or intermeddle with the rule and government of the same;" and, accordingly, an act of *settlement* was passed by this parliament, entailing the crown upon King *Henry* and his legitimate heirs.

And by the statute of 2 *Hen.* IV. c. 3, all persons who accept any provision from the *Pope*, to be exempt from *canonical obedience* to their proper ordinary, are also subject to the penalties of *præmunire*.

The statute of *præmunire* so exasperated Pope *Boniface* IX. who heinously resented the foregoing disqualifying statutes of *mortmain* and *provisors*, that he wrote an angry letter of complaint against it, as *execrabile statutum*, "an execrable statute;" and the enaction, *fœdum et turpe facinus*, "a foul and base deed." This, however, did not prevent *Henry* from enforcing it and the foregoing statutes. Upon the petition of the Commons, in his ninth parliament, he enacted, "That no monies should be carried out of the kingdom to the court of *Rome;* and that if any of the Pope's collectors

should levy any money within the realm, for the *first fruits* * of any ecclesiastical dignity, he should incur the penalty of the statute of *provisors;* that the elections and presentations to benefices should be free; and no patrons should be interrupted in their right, either by the *king* or the *pope;* that all statutes against *provisors*, and translations of bishoprics and archbishoprics, should be strictly observed and executed upon all offenders; and that no clergyman should sue for any benefice, but in the *king's court*. These acts were so gratifying to the Parliament, that they granted the king a general subsidy through the whole nation.

Pope *Martin* V. having sent over into *England* a bull, requiring a tenth from the clergy, to carry on the war against the *Bohemian* heretics; in the fifth year of *Henry V.*, A. D. 1418, the parliament rejected the Pope's jurisdiction, enacting, "That the church, and all estates of the realm of *England*, should enjoy their *ancient liberties*, which were not repealed, nor repealable by the *common law*." And they further enacted, That "the *alien priories*, or abbies of foreign monks, should be suppressed, and their lands given to the crown."—*Blackstone*, ibid.

About this time, *Henry Chicheley*, Archbishop

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* The *first fruits* for the See of *Durham* amounted to *two thousand* marks. From this we may form some estimate of the immense revenue drained from the kingdom by these impositions alone.

of *Canterbury*, signalized himself, for opposing the *papal* jurisdiction. He prevented the king's brother from being made a cardinal and a legate *a latere*, by the Pope, solely upon the principle of its upholding the mischief of papal provisions, and as being derogatory from the liberties of the English church and nation; so well expressed in his letter to *Henry* V. on that subject: that "he was bound to oppose it by *his ligeance*, and also to quit himself to God, and *the church* of this land, of which God and the king had made him a ruler." And in the reign of *Henry* VI. he refused to consecrate a bishop of *Ely*, nominated by Pope *Eugenius* IV; he also refused to obey the commands of Pope *Martin* V. requiring him to exert his endeavours for the repeal of the obnoxious statute of *præmunire;* and this refusal so exasperated the Pope, that he issued a bull to suspend him from his office and authority: but the archbishop disregarded it, and appealed from the Pope to a General Council. And so sensible were the nation of their primate's patriotism, that the *Lords spiritual and temporal*, and also the *University of Oxford*, wrote letters to the Pope, in his defence; and the *House of Commons* addressed the *king*, to send an ambassador forthwith to his Holiness on the archbishop's behalf, justifying his conduct. Accordingly, in a letter to the Pope, the king thus truly declares his own, and the sentiments of the nation:—"Be it known to your Holiness, that while I live, by God's assistance, the

authorities and usages of the kingdom of *England* shall never be diminished; but even if I were willing so to debase myself (which God forbid!), *my nobles and the whole people of England will by no means suffer it.*" Thus did the *English* nation, at length, spiritedly renounce the usurped *civil authority* of the See of *Rome;* though they still retained the corrupt *doctrines* of that church, until, about a century after, they were emancipated from these also by the *Reformation.*

The several steps by which this emancipation from the *ecclesiastical supremacy* of the church of *Rome* was begun by *Henry* VIII. may thus briefly be stated:—

This haughty and bigoted prince, who wrote against *Luther* and the *reformation* in *Germany,* for which he was honoured with the title of *Defender of the Faith,* by the fallible and short-sighted *Clement* VII. first took offence at the Pope's brief, Aug. 29, 1529, imperiously requiring the legates *Campegio* and *Woolsey* to proceed no further on the question of divorce of the king's marriage with Queen *Catherine of Arragon,* in *England;* but summoning the cause to *Rome,* and citing the king and queen to appear there in person, or by proxy, before the ensuing Christmas-day. But the king's ambassadors replied to the Pope at *Bononia,* that the prerogative of the crown of *England* would not suffer any citation of their royal master to any

foreign court; and therefore the king would not allow his cause to be tried at *Rome.*

The next, was his discovery of the *oaths* taken by the prelates to the Pope, at their consecration; thus related by *Hall,* in his Chronicle, p. 205: —

" The 11th day of Maie, 1532, the kyng sent again for the spekar and twelve of the common house, having with him eight lordes, and said unto them, — 'Well, beloved subjectes, we thought that the *clergie* of our realme had bene our subjects wholy; but now we have well perceived that they be but *halfe our subjectes,* yea, and scarce our subjectes; for all the prelates, at their consecration, make an *othe to the Pope,* clene contrarie to the othe that they make to us: so that they seme to be his subjectes, and not ours. The copie of both the othes* I delyver here to you, requyring you to invent

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* *Extract from a Popish Prelate's Oath of Consecration.*

1. Ego, N——, electus ecclesiæ N——, *ab hac hora* in antea, *fidelis* et *obediens* ero beato *Petro* Apostolo, sanctæque *Romanæ Ecclesiæ,* et Domino nostro, Domino Papæ N, suisque successoribus, canonice intrantibus.

2. *Papatum Romanum,* et *regalia sancti Petri,* adjutor ero eis ad *retinendum* et *defendendum (salvo meo ordine)* contra *omnem hominem.*

3. *Jura, honores, privilegia,* et *auctoritatem* sanctæ *Romanæ* Ecclesiæ, *domini nostri Papæ,* et *successorum* prædictorum, *conservare, defendere, augere,* et *promovere, curabo.*

4. Neque ero in consilio vel facto seu tractatu, in quibus

some ordre, that we be not thus *deluded* of our spiritual subjectes." The openyng of these othes

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contra ipsum Dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam, aliqua sinistra præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestates eorum, machinentur. Et si talia *a quibuscunque* tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse; et quanto citius potero, significabo eidem Domino nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire.

5. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinationes sive dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones et mandata apostolica, totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab *aliis* observari.

6. *Hæreticos, schismaticos,* et *rebelles* eidem Domino nostro, vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse, *persequar* et *impugnabo.*

Translation.

1. "I, N——, elected —— of the Church N——, *from this day henceforth* will be *faithful* and *obedient* to blessed *Peter* the Apostle, and to the holy *Roman* Church, and *to our lord, the Lord Pope* N——, and his *successors* canonically entering.

2. "The *Roman papacy,* and the *royalties of St. Peter,* I will be their assistant to *retain* and *defend (saving mine own order) against every man.*

3. "The *rights, honours, privileges,* and *authority* of the *holy Roman Church,* and of *our lord the Pope,* and *his successors* aforesaid, I will be careful to *preserve, defend, augment,* and *promote.*

4. "Neither will I be [engaged] in *counsel,* or *act,* or *treaty* in which any [measures] may be devised, *sinister* or *prejudicial* to their *persons, rights, honour, state,* and *authority.* And if I shall know that such are attempted or procured, by *any persons whatsoever,* I will *prevent it* according to my ability; and as soon as possible, will *give information* to our said lord, or to some other, by whose means it may surely come to his knowledge.

(says *Hall*) was one of the occasions why the Pope, within two yeres following, lost all his jurisdiction in *Englande*."

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5. "The *rules of the holy fathers*, the *apostolical decrees, ordinances*, or *dispositions, reservations, provisions*, and *mandates, I will, with all my might, observe*, and cause to be observed by *others*.

6. "*Heretics, schismatics*, and *rebels* against our said lord, or his successors aforesaid, I will, according to my ability, *persecute* and *impugn*."

This is, to all intents and purposes, an oath of allegiance to the *papacy*, quite and "*clene contrary*," indeed, to the oath of allegiance to the *crown*. The *Pope*, for the time being, is represented as "*sovereign lord*," whose "*royalties, rights, honours, privileges*, and *authority*," the new bishop or prelate swears to "*retain, defend*, and *promote*, against *every man*," even against the *king* himself, whom he is bound, moreover, to "*persecute* and *impugn*," if he be a "*heretic* or *schismatic*," against the Church of *Rome*, or a "*rebel* against the authority of the *papacy*.

The only reservation in the oath, is the clause, *salvo meo ordine*, which does not signify "*saving my allegiance to the crown*," as designedly mistranslated by the *Irish* advocates of the papacy, Dr. *Butler*, titular archbishop of *Cashel*, Mr. *O'Leary*, &c. but "*saving* the rights of *my own* episcopal *order*" against *papal* encroachment or usurpation.

For the oath itself, when first proposed to the *German* prelates by *Boniface*, an *English* monk, usually called the *Apostle of Germany*, who devoted his services to the See of *Rome*, and took a voluntary oath of obedience to Pope *Gregory* II. when he was appointed Archbishop of *Mentz*, met with violent opposition from the *German* prelates. In order, therefore, to reconcile them thereto, this saving clause was introduced in the form of the consecration-oath enjoined by Pope *Gregory III.* A. D.

Accordingly, this same year, the parliament passed an act, prohibiting the payment of *annates*,

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731, and published in the *Decretals* of *Gregory* IX. and in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Antwerp, 1648; and it is retained in all the succeeding forms of the oath: which are given in *Hales on the Political Influence of the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy*, 1788, Appendix, p. 21—39.

The sixth article of the oath at first ran thus: — "*Hæreticos —prosequar* et impugnabo." And is so found in the *Roman Pontifical, Venice*, 1572. But the word *prosequar*, "I will prosecute," being deemed too weak or lax, was changed into *persequar*, "I will persecute," in the *Pontifical of Clement* VIII. *Rome*, 1595, and is retained in all the succeeding forms.

When *Cranmer* was appointed Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he refused to take the *persecuting clause*; which, therefore was omitted in his oath to the Pope, as follows: —

"I, *Thomas*, elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, from this hour forward, as before, will be faithful and obedient to the blessed *Peter* and the holy apostolic Church of *Rome*, and to my lord, the Lord *Clement* VII. and his successors canonically entering. I will not be of counsel, consent, or act, that they may lose life or limb, or be taken by evil capture. The counsel they shall entrust to me by themselves or nuncios, to their harm I will not knowingly disclose to any person. The *Roman papacy* and the *royalties of St. Peter*, I will be their assistant to retain and defend (*saving mine own order*) against every man. The *legate* of the Apostolic See, both going and coming, I will honourably entertain, and in bad necessities assist. When called to a *synod*, I will come, unless I be prevented by *canonical* impediment. The freeholds of the Apostles I will visit either personally or by proxy, every year, if the court of *Rome* be on *this* side of the *Alps*; but if *beyond*, every two years, unless I be absolved by apostolic licence. The mensal possessions belonging to my archbishopric I will neither sell,

or *first fruits* of all ecclesiastical benefices, any longer to the court of *Rome*. In the next year,

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nor bestow, nor mortgage, nor invest anew, nor in anywise alienate, without consulting the Roman Pontiff. So help me God, and these holy Gospels of God."

Before he took this oath, he made the following *protest* against any *temporal allegiance* to the *Pope*: —

"In the name of God, Amen. Before you, a person authorised, and witnesses, worthy of credit, here present, I, *Thomas*, elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, do say, allege, and in the words here written, do openly, publicly, and expressly *protest*, That in taking the oath or oaths usually sworn by those elected archbishops of *Canterbury*, to the supreme pontiff, before my consecration, or at the time thereof, I must consider them as rather *formally*, than *essentially*, or *in reality*, obligatory to obtain it. And it neither is, nor will be, my design or intention, by this oath or oaths, *howsoever the words contained in them may sound*, to oblige myself, by reason of the same, to say, do, or attempt any thing hereafter that shall be, or seem to be, *contrary to the law of* God, or *contrary to our most illustrious king of England*, or *the commonweal of this his kingdom of England*, or *the laws or prerogatives of the same*. And that I do not intend, by any oath or oaths of this sort, in any way, to preclude myself from being able freely to speak, consult, and consent, in all and singular matters any how concerning *the reformation of the Church of England*, or *the prerogative of the crown*, or *the interest of the state*, and to execute and reform everywhere, whatever matters in *the Church of England* shall appear *to want reformation*. And according to *this interpretation* and *this meaning*, and in no other way nor manner, do I protest and profess that I will take said oaths.

"And I do moreover *protest*, whatever be the oath which my *proctor* swore in my name heretofore to the supreme Pontiff, that it neither was my will or intention to give him any

1533, all *appeals* to *Rome;* and in 1534, the act of *Supremacy* was passed, declaring the king *Supreme*

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power, by virtue of which he might take any *oath in my name,* contrary or repugnant to the oath taken or hereafter to be taken by me, to the most illustrious king of *England* aforesaid. And in case he has taken any such contrary or repugnant oath in my name, I do protest that I wlsh it to be considered as null and invalid; having been taken without my knowledge and authority.

"*Which protestations I wish to be considered as repeated and reiterated in all the clauses and sentences of said oaths*; from which I do not mean to recede, nor will I any how recede by any word or deed of mine; but I will that they shall always hold good in my favour."

And the following was his *oath to the king* for his *temporalities.*

"I, *Thomas Cranmer,* renounce and utterly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have of the Pope's Holiness in his bulles of the archbishopric of *Canterbury,* that in any manner was, is, or may be hurtful or prejudicial to your Highness, your heires, successors, estate, or dignity royal; *knowing myself to take and hold the said archbishopric immediately and only of your Highness, and of none other.* Most lowly beseeching the same for restitution of the *temporalities* of the said archbishopric: professing to be faithful, true, and obedient, subject to your said Highness, your heires and successors, during my life. So help me God, and the holy Evangelists." See the Latin originals, in *Strype's* Life of *Cranmer,* Appendix, No. V. p. 9, or in *Hales, ibid.* pp. 3—7.

The *oath of consecration to the Pope* ought surely to be abolished *in toto,* as an *innovation* unknown for the first *seven* centuries, and *injurious to the rights of the crown,* and of the *established Church,* by the subsisting statutes of *Præmunire.*

Head on Earth of the Church of England, and discharging the people of this realm from all dependence on the Pope. Its preamble maintains, That "the *Catholic faith* is injurious to the *souls* of men, as well as to the *state:* the Bishop of *Rome,* whom somecall the *Pope,* hath long darkened God's word, that it might serve his pomp, glory, avarice, and ambition, and his *tyranny* both upon the souls and bodies and goods of Christians; excluding CHRIST *out of the care of men's souls, and princes out of their dominions.*"

This was followed up, in the year 1536, by an act for the suppression of all smaller *monasteries, abbeys,* and *religious houses* under £200 a year income; and the revenues of 376 such, amounting to £30,000 a year, were granted to the crown, on the king's promise to employ some part of them, after relieving his own necessities, to other religious uses, such as founding new bishoprics, deaneries, chapters, and the like; and three years after, he obtained the consent of his compliant parliament, in 1539, for dissolving the rest, either by surrendry, forfeiture, or purchase. The whole number suppressed in *England* and *Wales,* according to *Camden,* amounting to 645; 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, and 2374 chantries; the yearly income of all which made £161,000; being above a third part of all our spiritual revenues; beside the value of timber, stock, corn, bells, church plate, and ornaments, &c. which was immense; as we may judge from a single

instance: The monastery of St. *Edmundbury* alone furnished five thousand marks of gold and silver, beside precious stones of great value.

From their revenues the king, according to his promise, founded six new bishoprics, and augmented the number of colleges in the universities, and supplied several cathedral churches with canons, in the place of the monks; for which he allotted revenues to the amount of £8000 a year. But the great surplus was consumed by his own extravagance, and profuse grants of *lay impropriations* to his favourites, instead of being solely applied to *religious* or *public uses*. And this sacrilegious spoliation of ecclesiastical property has been the greatest blot upon the *reformation* in *England*, and a material injury to the nation. The suppression of religious houses, &c. shortly created a necessity for introducing *poor taxes* or *poor rates*, to supply the place of the hospitality of the religious institutions; which have at length arisen to an evil of enormous and alarming magnitude, by a righteous retaliation upon the rapacity of the *laity*, for sharing in those unhallowed spoils, and also to prevent impositions upon themselves by the Crown.

The same servile parliament enacted the bloody statute of the Six Articles, confirming the popish doctrines, 1. Of *Transubstantiation*; 2. *Communion in one kind*; 3. The *Celibacy of Priests*, and, 4. Of *Nuns*; 5. *Private Masses*, and, 6. *Auricular Confession*; under pain of death by burning, and for-

feiture of goods and chattels: in spite of all the opposition of *Cranmer* and the clergy to prevent them. And in the bigoted reign of her sister *Mary*, *Elizabeth* herself was nearly falling a victim to the first article *.

In *Edward the Sixth*'s reign, the act was passed for *uniformity* in religious worship, conformably "to the *pure religion of Christ*, and the *practice of the Primitive Church*;" the *Popish Mass* was thereby abolished, and the *Book of Common Prayer* enjoined to be used in its stead;—and so strictly was the observance of it required by the young king, that he would not suffer his sister, the Lady *Mary*, to have *mass* in her own family.

In the first of *Elizabeth*, A. D. 1558, the act of *supremacy* was renewed for "restoring to the crown the *ancient jurisdiction* over the state *ecclesiastical*, and abolishing all *foreign* powers repugnant to the same;" and the *oath of supremacy* was required to be taken by all the Members of both Houses of

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* Soon after Queen *Mary*'s accession to the throne, the Princess *Elizabeth*, her sister, was imprisoned; and at the pressing instances and menaces of Cardinal *Poole*, she professed herself a Roman Catholic, and received the *communion of the mass*; and when interrogated as to her belief of *transubstantiation*, she thus answered evasively:—

> "CHRIST *was the Word that spake it;*
> *He took the bread and brake it;*
> *And what that Word did make it,*
> *That I believe, and take it.*"

Parliament, with attendance on the *national prayers*, and occasional participation of the *communion*, on pain of expulsion; thus guarding them against the errors and irregularities of *Papists* and *Dissenters*.

When her prime favourite the Earl of *Leicester*, appointed one of the trustees of an act designed for the better preservation of Church lands, by preventing their alienation, had abused his power; by the bold remonstrance of *Whitgift* *, Archbishop

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* This prelate having withstood *Leicester* openly to his face before the Queen, they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But *Whitgift* made a sudden and seasonable return to her Majesty, whom he found alone, and addressed her with great humility and reverence indeed, but with the spirit and frankness of an *apostle*, in the following terms: —

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that *yours* and the *Church's safety* are dearer to me than my life, but *my conscience* dearer than both; and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that *princes* are deputed *nursing fathers of the church*, and owe it a protection: and therefore, God forbid that you be so much passive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation, or should forbear to tell your Majesty of the sin and danger. And though you and myself are born in an *age of frailties*, when *the primitive piety and care of the Church-lands and immunities are much decayed*, yet, Madam, let me beg that you will but first consider, and then you will believe, there are such sins as *profaneness* and *sacrilege*; for if there were not, they could not have names in HOLY WRIT, and particularly in the NEW TESTAMENT.

"And I beseech you to consider, that though OUR SAVIOUR said *He judged no man*; and to testify it, would not judge nor *divide the inheritance* betwixt the *two brethren*, nor would

of Canterbury, the Queen was induced to put a stop to the breach that had been already made in

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judge *the woman taken in adultery,* yet, in this point of the *church's right,* he was so zealous, that he made himself both the *accuser,* and the *judge,* and the *executioner,* to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself *made the whip to drive the profaners out of the temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers,* and *drove them out of it.* And, consider, that it was St. *Paul* that said to these Christians of his time, that were offended at idolatry, '*yet thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?*' supposing, I think, *sacrilege* to be the greater sin. This may occasion your Majesty to consider, that there is such a sin as *sacrilege*; and to incline you to prevent the *curse* that will follow it, I beseech you also to consider, that *Constantine,* the first Christian emperor, and *Helena,* his mother; that king *Edgar,* and *Edward the Confessor,* and, indeed, many others of your *predecessors,* and many *private Christians,* have also given to God and *his Church* much land and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their *own families,* and did not, but gave them as an absolute *right* and *sacrifice* to God; and with these immunities and lands, they have entailed a *curse upon the alienators* of them. God prevent your Majesty from being liable to that curse!

"And to make you, that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the *danger* of it, I beseech you, forget not, that besides these *curses,* the *Church-land and power* have been also endeavoured to be preserved (as far as *human reason* and the *law of this nation* have been able to preserve them) by an immediate and most sacred *obligation* on the consciences of the princes of this realm; for they that consult *Magna Charta* shall find, that as all your predecessors, at their coronation, so you, also, were sworn before all the *nobility* and *bishops* then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead, to him that anointed you, *to maintain the Church-lands, and the rights*

the lands and immunities of the Church, and to maintain, with more care than she had done be-

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belonging to it; and this testified openly at the *holy altar*, by laying your hand upon THE BIBLE, then lying upon it. And not only *Magna Charta,* but many *modern statutes* have denounced a *curse* upon them that break *Magna Charta.* And, now, what account can be given for the breach of this oath at *the last great day*, either by *your Majesty,* or by *me,* if it be *wilfully* or but *negligently violated,* I know not.

"And, therefore, good Madam, let not the late lord *(Leicester's)* exceptions against the *failings of some few clergymen*, prevail with you to *punish posterity* for *the errors of the present age:* let *particular men* suffer for their particular errors, but let GOD and *his Church have their rights.* And though I pretend not to *prophesy,* yet I beg *posterity* to take notice of what is already become visible in many families: that *Church-land, added to an ancient inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both!* or like *the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles and herself that stole it.* And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father (*Henry* VIII.), yet I beg you to take notice, that *a part of the Church's rights,* added to the *vast treasure* left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable *consumption* upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve it. And, consider, that after the *violation* of those laws, to which he had sworn in *Magna Charta,* GOD did so far deny his *restraining grace,* that he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention.

"Madam, RELIGION *is the foundation and cement of human societies*; and when *they that serve at* GOD'S *altar* shall be exposed to *poverty,* then RELIGION itself shall be exposed to *scorn,* and become *contemptible,* as you may already observe in too many *poor vicarages* in this nation. And, therefore, as you

fore, its remaining rights. The intelligent *Hooker* reckons that the *lay-impropriations*, at this time, were known to amount to *one hundred and twenty thousand* pounds yearly. "We rest," said he, "quietly without it, till it shall please God to touch the hearts of *men*, of their own voluntary accord, to restore it to Him again." "What hath been taken away as dedicated to *uses superstitious*,

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are, by a late act or acts [of Parliament], entrusted with a great power, to *preserve* or *waste the Church's lands*, yet dispose of them, for JESUS' *sake*, as the *donors* intended. Let neither *falsehood* nor *flattery* beguile you to do otherwise; and put a stop, I beseech you, to the approaching ruin of GOD'S *Church*, as you expect comfort at the *last great day*: for *kings must be judged*.

"Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear Sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in *your* favour; and THE LORD continue you in HIS!"

This animated speech (impossible to be abridged), to which the queen listened patiently, produced its full effect; and her future care to preserve the Church's rights, which, till then, had been neglected, proved that it sunk deep into her heart. Notwithstanding all the flowings and ebbings of her favour toward his opposers, (and the latter especially to the Earl of *Leicester*) he still maintained a uniform ascendancy in her esteem for his *piety*, and in her councils for his *wisdom*, during twenty years, in those dangerous and unsettled times, in which he had to cope with the most *powerful* and *active enemies of the Church*, both open and concealed, the *Nonconformists* and the *Courtiers*. And he made good his motto: —

Vincit qui patitur.

See *Walton*'s Life of *Hooker*, p. 9, 10.

and, consequently, not given to God, or, at the leastwise, not so rightly given, we *repine not* thereat; that which hath gone by means *secret* and *indirect*, through *corrupt compositions* or compacts, we *cannot help*; what the *hardness of men's hearts* doth make them *loth* to have exacted, though being *due by law*, even thereof the *want* we do also bear. — All that we have to sustain our miserable life with, is but a *remnant* of God's *own treasure*, so far already *diminished* and *clipt*, that if there were any sense of common humanity left in this hard-hearted world, *the impoverished estate of the clergy of* God would, at the length of very commiseration, be spared." *Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. 389. And Bishop *Jewel*, in a sermon preached before Queen *Elizabeth*, thus boldly complained of these abuses: — "In other countries the receiving of the Gospel hath always been the cause that *learning* was more set by; and *learning* hath ever been the furtherance of the Gospel. In *England*, I know not how it cometh otherwise to pass, for since the Gospel hath been received, the maintenance of learning hath been decayed; and the lack of learning will be the decay of the *Gospel*." Then addressing himself to her rapacious courtiers, "*You*," said he, "*enriched* them which *mocked*, and *blinded*, and *devoured* you! Spoil not them now that *feed*, and *instruct*, and *comfort* you!"

At the union of the two crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, under *James* I. this learned prince con-

cluded a long speech to his parliament, explaining the policy of government toward the *Papists*, nearly in the language of *Henry* VIII.: "As long as they are disconformable in religion from *us*, they cannot be but *half my subjects*, to do but half service; and I, to want the best half of them, which is their *souls*."

And his parliament thus sagaciously described the genuine spirit and effects of *popery* : —

"And from these causes, as '*bitter roots*,' we humbly offer to your Majesty, that we foresee and fear *very dangerous effects* both to the *Church* and *State*; for, 1. The *Popish religion* is *incompatible* with *ours* in respect of their positions: 2. It draweth with it an *unavoidable dependency on foreign princes*: 3. It openeth too wide a gap for *popularity* to any one that shall draw too great a party: 4. It hath a *restless spirit*, and will strive by these gradations: if it once get but a *connivance*, it will press for a *toleration*; if that should be obtained, they must have an *equality*; from thence they will aspire to *superiority*, and will never rest till they get a *subversion* of the *true religion*." And by these gradations, indeed, the "restless spirit of Popery hath striven," ever since its introduction at the *Norman Conquest*, down to the present day!

It was not, however, without the most violent struggles, that the Church and See of *Rome* were deprived of their usurped supremacy.

When *Henry* VIII. had cast off the *papal su-*

premacy, and laid the axe to the root of the tree, by suppressing the *monastic orders* in England, the life-guards of the papacy, Pope *Paul* issued a bull of *excommunication* against him, A. D. 1538; which only served to confirm the king in his opposition.

Soon after the accession of Queen *Elizabeth*, Pope *Pius* IV., in 1560, wrote her a flattering letter, to "Our dearest daughter in Christ,"—inviting her to return to the bosom of the Church, and promising "to receive her as the *prodigal* son:" but the Queen, steady to her motto, *semper eadem*, rejected his flatteries, and persisted in promoting the Reformation; whereupon Pope *Pius* V. fulminated his famous bull, March 28, 1569, "against *Elizabeth*, the pretended queen of *England*, and the *heretics*, her adherents;" absolving all her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and from any other duty they owe to her; and threatening all who shall henceforth obey her, with an anathema, or excommunication. By these means several conspiracies were formed by *Popish priests* and *Jesuits* to destroy her; but they were detected, and the conspirators punished according to their deserts.

Gregory XIII., in 1578, stirred up the king of *Spain* to invade *England*, depose *Elizabeth*, and hold the kingdom as a fief from him; and he was followed by Pope *Sextus* V., who urged the *Spanish* invasion in 1558, renewed the bulls of

Pius V. and *Gregory* XIII. excommunicated the queen, absolved her subjects from all allegiance, published a *Crusade* against her as against *Turks* and *Infidels*, and granted plenary indulgences to all that contributed their help and assistance to depose her.

And near the end of her reign Pope *Clement* VIII. sent two briefs to *England* in A. D. 1591; one to the popish clergy, the other to the people, not to admit king *James* as her successor, unless he swore to tolerate the Romish religion. These briefs, however, were not published, but communicated privately to very few; and laid the ground work of the *Gunpowder Plot*, in 1605, the third year after his accession to the throne of *England*. But this being providentially discovered on the eve of its execution, and *Garnet* the Jesuit and his accomplices executed, and venerated as *martyrs* for the Catholic faith; Pope *Paul* V.* issued two briefs

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* This was the arrogant Pontiff to whom, in the year 1608, *Maria Carafa*, a friar, in his Theses for Disputation, at *Rome* and *Naples*, (of which this was one, *Solus Petrus, et successores, in totam Ecclesiam illimitatam jurisdictionem habent,*) addressed the following blasphemous inscription to the Pope: — PAULO V. VICE DEO, *Christianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictissimo, et Pontificæ omnipotentiæ conservatori acerrimo.*

This was published at *Venice*, while Dr. *Bedel*, afterwards Bishop of *Kilmore*, in *Ireland*, was there, who, probably, in the title, discovered the *mystical* number 666, the name of the Beast, or *Antichrist:*

P	A	V	L	O	V.	V	I	C	E	-	D	E	O.
5.			50.		5.	5.		1.	100.			500.	

in 1606 and 1607, absolving the English Catholics from their allegiance to *James*, and reprobating the oath itself as null and void: a detestable doctrine, uniformly inculcated by the legates, nuncios, and emissaries of the Papal See, down to the present day.

The machinations of the court of *Rome* were also fatally and successfully employed against the unfortunate *Charles;* to which he fell a victim in 1648. The war between him and his *puritanical* parliament was principally fomented thereby. The following information, given in a confidential letter from Dr. *Bramhall*, bishop of *Derry*, to Primate *Usher* during his exile, and the 223d Letter in *Usher's* Life, p. 611, deserves to be recorded, from that scarce publication:—

"Most Reverend,

"I thank God I do take my pilgrimage patiently, yet I cannot but condole the change of the Church and State of *England;* and more in my pilgrimage than ever, because I dare not witness and declare to that *straying flock* of our brethren in *England*, *who* have *misled* them, and *who* they

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This title was afterwards enlarged by another; *Benedictus*, a *Benedictine* friar, in his dedication to the Pope, disclaiming the imputation of *Antichrist:* — PAULO QUINTO, *Pontifici Universalis Ecclesiæ Oecumenico, summo totius orbis Episcopo atque Monarchæ, et* SUPREMO VICE-DEO; in reward for which he was shortly after made Bishop of *Caorli* by the Pope. — See Bishop *Burnett's* Life of *Bedel*, pp. 306, 307.

are that *feed* them. But that your Lordship may be more sensible of the Church's calamities, and of the dangers she is in of being ruined, if God be not merciful unto her, I have sent you a part of my discoveries, and it is from credible hands; having, at this present, so sure a messenger and so good an opportunity.

"It plainly appears that in the year 1646, by order from *Rome*, above a *hundred* of the *Romish clergy* were sent into *England*, consisting of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, who had been educated in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spain;* part of those within the several schools there appointed for their instruction. In each of these *Romish* nurseries these scholars were taught several handicraft trades and callings, as their ingenuities were most bending, besides their orders or functions of that Church.

"When they return into *England* they are taught their lesson, (if any enquire from whence they come) that they were poor Christians, that formerly fled beyond sea for *their religion's sake*, and are now returned with glad news to enjoy their *liberty of conscience.* ——

"The *hundred* men that went over in 1646, were most of them *soldiers in the Parliament's army*, and were daily to correspond with those *Romanists* in our late king's army that were lately at *Oxford*, and pretended to fight for his sacred Majesty; for at that time there were *some* Roman Catholics who

did not know the design a contriving against our Church and State of *England.*

"But the year following, 1647, many of these *Romish* orders, who came over the year before, were in consultation together, knowing each other; and those of the *king's party* asking some, why they took with the *Parliament side?* and asking others, whether they were bewitched to turn *Puritans?* not knowing the design: but at last *secret bulls* and *licences* being produced by those of the Parliament side, it was declared between them, there was no better design to confound the Church of *England,* than by pretending *liberty of conscience.* It was argued then, 'that *England* would be a *second Holland,* a *commonwealth;* and if so, what would become of the king?' It was answered, "Would to God it were come to that point." It was again replied, 'Yourselves have preached so much against *Rome* and his Holiness, that *Rome* and her *Romanists* will be little the better for the change:' but it was answered, "You shall have mass sufficient for a *hundred thousand,* and the governors never the wiser." Then some of the mercifullest of the *Romanists* said, '*This cannot be done unless the king die.*' Upon which argument the *Romish* orders thus licensed, and in the Parliament army, wrote unto their several *convents,* but especially to the *Sorbonists, whether it may be scrupled to make away our late godly king, and his Majesty his son?* our king and master, who, blessed be God,

hath escaped their Romish snares laid for him: It was returned from the *Sorbonists*, "*That it was lawful for Roman Catholics to work changes in Government for the Mother-Church's advancement; and chiefly in an heretical kingdom; and so lawfully make away the king.*"

"Thus much, to my knowledge, have I seen and heard since my leaving your Lordship, which I thought very requisite to inform your Grace; *for myself would hardly have credited these things, had not mine eyes been sure evidence of the same.* Let these things sleep within your gracious Lord's breast, and not awake but upon sure grounds; for this age can trust no man, there being so great fallacy among men. So THE LORD preserve your Lordship in health, for the nation's good, and the benefit of your friends, which shall be the prayers of Your humble servant,

July 20, 1624. J. DERENSIS."

This throws a new light on the proceedings of the *Puritans* of that age, in their little suspected coalition with the *Papists* to subvert the Government. The same coalition has been renewed in the present age, and subsists, at this moment, both in *Great Britain* and *Ireland!*

IV. In *Ireland*, to which we again turn our attention, the *primacy* of the See of *Armagh*, established by the synod of *Cashel*, A. D. 450, remained for a long time undisputed. The first opposition to the jurisdiction of that See was made

by the *Danes*, or *Ostmen*, who planted colonies in the three maritime cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford*, and *Limerick*, in the course of the ninth century. In the following century *Edgar*, King of *England*, invaded the *Danes* in *Ireland*, and reduced *Dublin* under his dominion; to which, in the year 964, he granted a charter, under the title of *Nobilissima Civitas Dublinæ*, "the most noble city of *Dublin*;" which shews that it must have been a city of note at that time. After the conversion of these *Danish* colonies to Christianity, preferring the jurisdiction of the *Norman* Church, in *England*, to that of the see of *Armagh*, in their own neighbourhood, *Gothric*, the king of *Dublin*, with the consent of his clergy and people, applied to *Lanfranc*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to consecrate their first bishop, *Patrick*, which was done at St. Paul's, in the year 1074.* Upon his death, in 1085, at the application of *Terdelugh*, monarch of *Ireland*, and the bishops of *Ireland*, joined with the clergy and people of *Dublin*, *Lanfranc* again consecrated *Donatus*, one of his own monks of *Canterbury*, for their bishop.† He dying in

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* Ad regimen *Dubliniensis* Ecclesiæ *Lanfrancus* Archiepiscopus *Cantuariæ*, petente *Goderico* rege, Dubliniensis Ecclesiæ populo et Clero consentientibus et eligentibus; in Ecclesia Sancti *Pauli*, *Londin. Patricium* sacravit antistitem. *Annal. Dublin. ad Annum* 1074.

† Anno Dom. 1085, *Lanfrancus*, Archiepiscopus *Cantuar.* ad regimen *Dubliniensis* Ecclesiæ, sacravit *Donatum* monas-

1095, his nephew *Samuel*, a monk of *St. Alban's*, but born in *Ireland*, was chosen bishop in his room, by *Murierdach*, monarch of *Ireland*, and the clergy and people of the city; who sent him to be consecrated by *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.* The last Bishop of *Dublin*, *Gregory*, in the year 1122, was consecrated by *Ralph*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in consequence of the following writ, directed to him by king *Henry* I. †

" *Henry*, king of *England*, to *Ralph*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, greeting. The king of *Ireland* hath intimated to me by his writ, and the burgesses of *Dublin*, that they have elected this *Gregory* for their bishop, and send him to you to be consecrated. Wherefore I desire you to satisfy their petition, and perform his consecration without

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terii sui monachum in sede Metropoli *Cantuar.* petentibus atque eligentibus eum *Terdeluacho Hiberniæ* rege, atque Clero et populo præfatæ civitatis. *Annal. Dublin. ad Annum* 1085.

* A Rege *Hiberniæ*, *Murierdach* nomine, necnon a Clero et populo in episcopatum ipsius civitatis, electus est; atque ad *Anselmum*, juxta morem antiquum, sacrandus cum communi decreto directus. — *Eadmer*, *Hist. Novor.* p. 31.

† *Henricus* Rex *Angliæ Radulpho Cantuariensi* Episcopo salutem. Mandavit mihi Rex *Hiberniæ* per Breve suum, et Burgenses *Dubliniæ*, quod elegerunt hunc *Gregorium* in episcopum, eum tibi mittunt consecrandum. Unde tibi mando, ut petitioni eorum satisfaciens, ejus consecrationem sine dilatione expleas. Teste *Ranulpho* Cancellario apud *Windelsor*.

delay. Witness *Ranulph*, our Chancellor, at *Windsor*."

At the same time the burgesses of *Dublin*, and the Assembly of the Clergy, wrote to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to enhance the merit of this application: * — "Know, verily, that the bishops of *Ireland*, and especially that bishop who resides at *Armagh*, have the *greatest jealousy* toward us, because we wish not to obey their ordination, but to be under your government always."—The *Irish* prelates, indeed, although they acquiesced in the interference of *Lanfranc* and *Anselm*, two of the most celebrated prelates of their time, with whom they maintained a good correspondence, yet could not brook this continuation of the dependence of the See of *Dublin* upon the metropolitan of another kingdom, as being derogatory to the dignity of their own primate. However, soon after, by the artful intrusion of the See of *Rome*, this same *Gregory* was promoted to the archbishopric of *Dublin*, and thenceforward transferred his allegiance to the papacy. At the same time *Tuam* was raised to the archiepiscopal rank.

The chief instrument in bringing about this disastrous connexion between the *Irish* and *Roman*

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* Sciatis vos reverà, quod Episcopi *Hiberniæ* maximum *zelum* erga nos habent, et maximè ille episcopus qui habitat *Ardimachæ;* quia nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro Dominio esse volumus. — MS. *Ad Calcem Collectionis Isidori Mercatoris*, in *Bibliotheca Cottoniana*.

Churches, was *Malachy*, archbishop of *Armagh*, betraying the rights and privileges of his own Church. In the year 1139, he took a journey to *Rome*, to concert with pope *Innocent* II. the speediest and most effectual measures for forming an intimate and lasting union between *Rome* and *Ireland*. He was received there with distinguished consideration, appointed Legate, and dismissed with instructions to prevail on the prelates to surrender their privilege of consecrating bishops; and on the princes and nobles to resign their right of nominating archbishops and bishops to the Pope. *Malachy* was indefatigable in his endeavours to effect this change; and in 1148, set out on a second journey to *Rome*, furnished with full power, on the part of the *Irish* nation, to acknowledge the papal supremacy in spirituals, and to demand palls for the *Irish* archbishops. But *Malachy* died on his way to *Rome*, in the arms of St. *Bernard*, his historiographer, at *Clareval*, and was canonized for his important services; and *Christian*, bishop of *Lismore*, was appointed Legate in his stead, A. D. 1150.

The following year Pope *Eugenius* sent Cardinal *Paparon* to *Ireland*; who, in the year 1152, at the abbey of *Kells*, in the county of *Meath*, conferred palls on the four archbishops, with great pomp and splendor, in the presence of *Murtagh Mac Laughlin O'Nial*, monarch of *Ireland*, the princes, twenty-two bishops, and five capitular

bishops elect, and numbers of the abbots and dignified clergy. — *O'Halloran's History of Ireland*, vol. i, p. 32, 33.

And now, what return did the See of *Rome* make to the *Irish* Church and Nation for this solemn and gratuitous resignation and surrendry of their ancient and established independence and rights? Four years had not elapsed, when the *English* Pope, *Adrian* IV., most ungratefully and unjustly, granted to *Henry* II. that infamous bull for conquering and enslaving *Ireland!* And the succeeding Pope, *Alexander* III., confirmed it in 1173; adding insult to iniquity, and representing the *Irish* nation as "*barbarous*, and *Christian* only in name!!" These bulls have been impeached as spurious by some of the advocates of Popery; but they were publicly notified by king *Henry* II. at the *Irish* Synod of *Waterford*, held in 1177; and warmly resented by the *Irish* at that synod, to *Vivian*, the legate of *Alexander;* and they have been published by *Baronius*, and other *Romish* writers. Their genuineness, therefore, is unquestionable. Such was the disastrous commencement of the implicit submission of the *Irish* nation to the Church and See of *Rome;* and the most calamitous in its consequences, down to the present day!

On the death of *Laurence O'Toole*, archbishop of *Dublin*, in 1181, *Henry* II. nominated as his successor *John Comyn*, an Englishman, attached

to his interest; and his election was ratified by the Pope, *Lucius*, with a confirmation of the rights and possessions of the See of *Dublin*. This early precedent of *nomination by the Crown*, is found in the Papal Registry, called *Crede Mihi*. Dat. Velletri. Id. April. Indict. 15, 1182, cited by *Leland, Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i, p. 138.

Henry de Londres, who succeeded *John Comyn* in 1213, attended the council of king *John* as a spiritual baron for *Ireland;* and is named as the first of the Lords who were present at the execution of that shameful deed, by which the king surrendered his crown to Pope *Innocent* III., to be held in future as a fief of the papacy, by the service of a thousand marks, to be paid annually, seven hundred for *England*, and three hundred for *Ireland*. He also was present when *John* paid homage to *Pandulph*, the Pope's legate, with the most abject humiliation; and was honourably distinguished as the only prelate who ventured to express his indignation at the enormous insolence and haughtiness of the legate on this occasion.—*Leland*, vol. i. p. 195, 196.

The wretched state of *Ireland*, in consequence of her subjugation to *Rome* and *England*, in the reign of *Henry* III., is thus energetically stated by her historian:—

"*Ireland*, in the mean time, felt all the melancholy effects of a feeble government, an aspiring nobility, laws suspended and controuled, factions

engendered by pride and oppression, the anarchy of the old natives, the injustice of the new settlers, local feuds, and barbarous massacres."

To heighten the calamities of this dreary period, the severest exactions were made on *Ireland*, both by the *King* and the *Pope*. In the year 1226, the King, with the Pope's concurrence, demanded a *fifteenth* of all Cathedral Churches and Religious Houses; and a sixteenth of all of her Ecclesiastical revenues. But the exactions of the See of *Rome* were still more grievous and oppressive: in *England* they were odious; in *Ireland*, intolerable. To satisfy the rapacity of legates and nuncios, the *Irish* were stripped of their very necessaries, and even the churches were spoiled of their ornaments; and *Ireland* was overspread with *Italian Ecclesiastics*, who neglected their duties, absented themselves, and yet drained the country of the revenues of their benefices. Supported by the Pope's authority, *Henry*, also, sent over large importations of *English Clergy*. This provoked the native Clergy to make a violent ordinance against the intrusion of Englishmen into a Canonship in any of the *Irish* Churches; which, on the King's application, was rescinded by the Pope, as "the effect of *envy* and *unchristian partiality*, and an ambitious design to establish *hereditary right* in God's sanctuary."

Edward I. likewise, by the Pope's assistance, obtained from the *Irish* Clergy a *tenth* of all their

revenues, to provide for an expedition to the *Holy Land.* Not content with this, he demanded a *fifteenth,* in addition, by his sole authority. But they not being willing nor able to comply with this novel and exorbitant imposition, peremptorily refused to give it, and complained to the Sovereign Pontiff;—and so this imperious Prince, who humbled his *English* Clergy, was forced to relinquish the demand.—*Leland,* vol. i. p. 229—235.

The *Reformation,* introduced into *England* in *Henry* VIII.'s reign with so little difficulty, and even with the concurrence of the nation, met with great opposition in *Ireland;* and, in fact, never has been thoroughly established there to the present day. The spirit of opposition, indeed, spread widely both among the Clergy and the Laity. The Clergy, as we have seen, looked up to the Pope for protection against the impositions of the Crown, and were jealous that the patronage of the Church of *Ireland* was chiefly bestowed on Englishmen; and the Laity, even the more enlightened of the English race, had long considered *Ireland* as a fief of the Pope, in right of St. *Peter,* conferred on *Henry* II.; and the Irish Parliament had acknowledged this to be the only legitimate foundation of the authority of the Crown of *England,* (Irish stat. 7 *Edw.* IV.) while the gross ignorance and superstition of the native Irish, who had been most unwisely excluded from the pale of English Law, rendered them hostile to any reformation of

religion or morals, and blindly attached to the *Pope*, by whose influence they looked for support from *O'Nial* and other *Irish* Chieftains at home, and from the king of *Spain* abroad, against the *English* domination.

No sooner, therefore, had the Royal Commissioner, Lord *Cromwell*, sent over for the purpose, and *Browne*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, &c. demanded an acknowledgement of the king's supremacy in *Ireland*, as well as in *England*, than *Cromer*, Primate of *Armagh*, though an Englishman by birth, with the suffragan bishops and clergy of his province, violently opposed all innovation in religion, pronounced an anathema against all who should sacrilegiously acknowledge the king's supremacy, and dispatched emissaries to *Rome*, intreating the Pontiff to interfere in defence of his own rights and interests in *Ireland*.

However, a parliament was summoned in 1536, which, like the *English*, was more obsequious to the wishes of the Crown; and they acknowledged the King supreme head of the Church in *Ireland* also. Archbishop *Browne*, in support of the act, pleaded the authority of the Popes themselves against the usurpation of *Rome*. He observed, that they had acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes, to be supreme in their own dominions, and even *Vicars of Christ;* so that in asserting the king's ecclesiastical as well as civil supremacy, he claimed no more than *Eleutherius*, bishop of

Rome, had granted to *Lucius*, the first Christian king of the *Britons*. But the terror of the king, and the dread of being punished as disloyal subjects, had more weight with the Legislature than the arguments of the Archbishop, to pass the Act of Supremacy; and afterwards, in 1541, other acts connected therewith, the dissolution of abbies and monasteries, and payment of first fruits to the Crown, &c.

But great opposition was given to the execution of all these acts, clandestinely and openly. *Cromer*, the refractory primate of *Armagh*, received private instructions from the Court of *Rome*, to persevere boldly in support of the papal authority; to grant absolution to those who had taken the oath of supremacy, for breaking it; and to anathematize all that opposed the authority of the Holy See, either ecclesiastical or civil. Some time after, the following letter was written to *O'Nial*, the head of the Northern Chieftains, by the Bishop of *Mentz*, in the name of the Council of Cardinals, exciting him to rebellion; which was intercepted among the papers of a *Dominican* friar. — *Leland*, vol. i. p. 172.

" My son *O'Nial*,

" Thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the Mother-Church of *Rome*. His Holiness *Paul* [III.] the present Pope, and his Council of Holy Fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one Saint *Lazerianus*, an *Irish* Archbishop of *Cashel*. It

saith, that *the Church of Rome shall surely fall, when the Catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland.* Therefore, for the glory of the Mother-Church, the honour of St. *Peter*, and your own security, suppress *Heresy*, and oppose the enemies of his *Holiness.* You see that when the *Roman* faith perisheth in *Ireland*, the See of *Rome* is fated to utter destruction! The Council of Cardinals, therefore, have thought it necessary to animate the people of the *Holy Island* in this pious cause; being assured, that while the Mother-Church hath sons of such worth as you, and those who shall unite with you, she shall not fall, but prevail for ever, in some degree at least, in *Britain.* Having thus obeyed the order of the Sacred Council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and all the host of Heaven.—Amen."

These machinations of the Pope and his agents were but too successful. When Archbishop *Browne*, the great preacher of the Reformation in *Ireland*, attempted to remove the *images* and *reliques* of the Saints from his cathedrals and churches, he was opposed by his Clergy; and several chose rather to resign their benefices than acknowledge the king's supremacy. In the next reign, of *Edward* VI., *John Bale*, bishop of *Ossory*, a strenuous opponent of Popery, on his first preaching the doctrines of the Reformation, was deserted by his Clergy;

and such was the violence of the populace, that five of his domestics were slain before his face; and his own life was saved only by the vigorous interposition of the civil magistrates; but so weak was the executive government, and so confined its authority, that several of the remoter bishoprics, beyond the *English* pale, such as *Clogher*, *Derry*, and *Raphoe*, in the north of *Ireland*, continued to be granted by the Pope, in Queen *Elizabeth's* days; and several of the *abbeys* and *religious houses*, dissolved by the act of 33 *Hen.* VIII., especially in *Tyrone*, *Tirconnel*, and *Fermanagh*, were suffered to remain in the possession of their superiors until the reign of *James* I. And even then, and afterwards, such was the impolitic inattention of the *English* government to the established religion, that scarcely any attempts were made to conciliate the *Irish*, by preaching to them the *Reformed* doctrines in their own tongue.—"Hard it is," said *Cusack*, an *Irish* Chancellor, in a letter to the Duke of *Cumberland*, in 1552, "that men should know their duties to *God* and the *king*, when they shall not have teaching or preaching throughout the year!"—for the *Reformed Clergy* in general, took no pains to learn the *Irish* language, which prevailed even in the heart of the *English* pale, among the natives, and among the first settlers, who adopted their language and their customs by intermarriages; and were more inveterate against the Reformation than even the *Irish* them-

selves. Meanwhile, even in those Sees which were in the disposal of Government, the prelates nominated by the Crown had to contend with formidable rivals in the *Romish* prelates nominated by the Pope, who vigilantly introduced their own clergy throughout the kingdom; who, speaking their own language, and preaching their own religion, were listened to with favour and affection; while the Reformed Clergy, who were strangers to their language, and prejudiced against them and their religion, were hated and abhorred, as heretics, aliens, and intruders into their rights; and with whom they had no further intercourse, than the payment of their legal dues and tythes; which not seldom were rigorously exacted in the *Ecclesiastical* Courts.

From the combination of these causes, we need not wonder that the *Reformation*, like "*a sickly plant in a dry soil*," never took root, and flourished vigorously in *Ireland*. The *Romish Hierarchy* subsisted in full force; and still continues to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, openly and uncontrouled, down to the present day.

The wise policy of *James* I. had planted *Protestant* colonies in the extensive forfeitures produced by the rebellions in Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, especially in *Ulster*;—and had his system been punctually pursued, *Ireland* would have been long since a *Protestant* country. But the troubles of his ill-fated son, *Charles* I. drew off his atten-

tion; and the occasional rigour with which his deputies enforced the penal laws against *Popish recusants*, and the general remissness and imbecility of their administrations, — the marked preference they showed to the new settlers and adventurers, as the only loyal subjects, and their neglect and suspicions of the descendants of the old *English* settlers, as disaffected, and not to be trusted with arms, nor military and civil employments, — all together conspired to alienate the minds of the great mass of the nation against the *English* yoke, as they deemed the *English* dominion; and furnished too many opportunities to the partizans and emissaries of *Rome* to poison the minds of the people, and tempt them to throw off their connexion with *England*, and to assert their ancient independence. The sagacious *Usher*, that early prodigy of genius and learning, by which he rose, in those turbulent times, to the primacy of *Armagh*, early prognosticated the *Irish* rebellion of 1641. This young divine, in the twenty-second year of his age, preaching before the Government in *Christ Church*, *Dublin*, 1601, who then were disposed to grant indulgence to the *Papists*, took occasion, from that remarkable prophecy of *Ezekiel*, foretelling the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, — "*Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the House of Judah forty days; I have appointed thee each day for a year*, iv. 6, — to introduce this ominous conjecture in his sermon: "From this

year, I reckon *forty* years; and then, those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin: and *you shall bear their iniquity:*"*—which fell out accordingly. And, by a severe retaliation for so many thousand Protestants, massacred in that rebellion, the perpetrators were visited with a bloody war of twelve years' continuance, during the remainder of *Charles* the First's reign, and the vigorous administration of *Cromwell.* And to the operation of similar causes, we may ascribe the ensuing and recent rebellions of 1798 and 1803, in *Ireland.*

V. The opposition of the Roman Pontiffs to every demonstration of allegiance to the Government, on the part of the *English* and *Irish Roman Catholics,* by means of their *Bulls, Legates, Nuncios,* and *Vicars Apostolic,* has been unremitting and incessant, from the infancy of the *Reformation* to the present day. I shall adduce a few prominent instances, out of a multitude.

1. In the reign of *James* I. after the gunpowder treason, an oath of allegiance for the *Roman Catholics* was drawn up with great skill and exactness, by the king himself, who was well acquainted with the principles of Popery; and who really wished to give all his subjects liberty of conscience in matters of religion, provided they would give sufficient and unequivocal security for their allegi-

* See Archbishop *Usher's* Life, by *Parr*, p. 9

ance to the Crown. This oath was deemed satisfactory by his *Romish* subjects, as reconciling their *political* with their *religious* obligations; and they were ready to accept it with thankfulness and gratitude; when, to their sorrow and amazement, it was censured by Pope *Paul* V. in the following terms: —

"From the words themselves it ought to be sufficiently clear to you, that an *oath of this kind* cannot be taken, saving *the Catholic faith,* and *the salvation of your souls;* since it contains *many things* which are openly adverse to faith and salvation. Wherefore we admonish you to abstain entirely from taking *this,* and *similar oaths.*"

Thus was the oath dogmatically condemned in the gross, without singling any particular clauses in it that were exceptionable; and not only this, but all similar oaths of allegiance for Romish subjects reprobated for ever!

2. On the restoration of *Charles* II. the famous *Remonstrance,* or *Loyal Formulary of Allegiance,* was presented to him in behalf of his Roman Catholic subjects of *Ireland,* in 1661, subscribed by one bishop, sixty-nine of the clergy, twenty-one peers, and a hundred and fifty-three of the principal nobility and gentry; disclaiming the obnoxious principles *imputed* to them, in the following forcible expressions: — "*We abhor, we renounce, we abominate such principles; we* PROTEST *against them, and seal our* PROTESTATION

with our dying breaths." But by the machinations of the Pope's *Nuncios, De Vecchii, Airoldi,* Cardinal *Barberini,* &c. and their partizans, Archbishops *Reilly, Talbot,* &c. this loyal Formulary was rejected by the *Irish Synod,* in 1666, who substituted a nugatory *Recognition;* against which the honest and experienced Father *Walsh,* who acted as *procurator* for the *Remonstrants,* brought fifteen exceptions, showing it to be altogether evasive and insufficient;—and, in return for their loyalty, the Remonstrants themselves were persecuted and excommunicated, at home and abroad, and several of them perished for want. *

3. In 1775 and 1776, heads of a bill were brought into the *Irish* parliament for *registering Popish Priests,* on taking an oath of allegiance; but Dr. *Burke,* Titular Bishop of *Ossory,* in his *Hibernia Dominicana,* or, History of the *Dominican* Order in *Ireland,* 1772, reprobated the measure in the following strong terms:—

"Would it not be *more than absurd* [*i. e.* downright *sinful*] that a *Catholic priest,* in discourse and demeanor, preaching the word of God, scriptural and traditional, to a *Catholic people,* and feeding them with the Sacraments of the Church, *should swear fidelity to king George,* so long as he

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* See *Walsh*'s History of the *Irish Remonstrance. Leland's Hist. of Ireland,* vol. iii. p. 459—462; and Dr. *O'Conor's Columbanus.*

is *professor of a heterodox religion!* and so long as *he has not an orthodox wife!* but if he should either *embrace the Catholic faith,* (as did, last year, his son-in-law, *Frederic,* prince of *Hesse-Cassel),* or should *marry an orthodox wife,* (as did kings *Charles* I. and II.) that then, by that very act, the same Catholic priest *ought to abjure the king to whom he swore fidelity before!* A deed *more than unworthy,* [*i. e.* amounting to absolute *apostacy*]."—Of course the measure failed, being rejected by the *Irish* clergy.

4. Afterwards, in 1768, when an oath of allegiance for the *Irish Roman Catholics* in general, was in the contemplation of parliament, Monsignor *Ghilini,* the Nuncio of Pope *Benedict* XIV. at *Brussels,* wrote an official letter to each of the four Titular Archbishops of *Ireland,* which is recorded in the *Hibernia Dominicana,* Supplement, p. 925, as *literæ vere aureæ, cedroque dignæ,* "a letter truly golden, and worthy to be preserved in cedar;" of which the following is a copious extract:—

"*Most Illustrious and most Reverend Lord,*

"My *official duty* towards the *good Catholics of Ireland,* compels and urges me to excite your most illustrious Lordship's zeal, in order that we may conjointly study to counteract a most grievous mischief, which, as I have been informed, is prepared, and partly carried into execution, to the *spiritual detriment* of that *wretched, most numerous Chris-*

tian nation. Witnesses of the highest credibility have informed me, that a certain formulary of Oath has been conceived by a heretic, and drawn up by the same heretic's hand, (a copy of which I inclose); and that it is held out for the acceptance of Catholics, under this plausible pretext: that, *if they refuse not to take such an oath to Government, they may reasonably expect that Government will repeal and abrogate those penal laws under which they so long groan.* And I have been further informed, that some of the laity and ecclesiastics, and even bishops, have not been ashamed, so imprudently, to take it already; and also, that others are preparing to take it; so that I am apprehensive, a *misregulation*, so great and important, may spread so widely in a short time, as almost to become general.

"This *new oath* is *reprehensible*, upon several accounts, and unworthy of Catholic prelates; but it is absolutely *intolerable*, if we consider the *Declaration* thereunto annexed, namely, of '*abominating*, and *from the heart detesting*,' the doctrine which is there declared '*abominable and pernicious*'—[that '*no faith or promise is to be kept with heretics, or princes excommunicated;* or *that princes deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any other person whatsoever.*']

"To your erudition it must be known, that *this doctrine*, which is asserted to be '*detestable*' in

the *oath*, is *defended and maintained by most Catholic nations; and has been often followed in practice by the Apostolic See.* It cannot therefore upon any account be declared '*detestable* and *abominable*' by a *Catholic*, without incurring, by such declaration, the imputation of a *proposition, rash, false, scandalous, and injurious to the Holy See.*

" Besides, it is to me a very dubious point, whether he be '*inviolably* bound, (as the new formulary prescribes), to be *always true* and *faithful* to his *majesty*,' (which is afterwards explained, to affirm upon *oath)* ' according to the *sense* intended by the *Laws of Ireland;*' because, as the laws of *England* and *Ireland* recognize the *king* as *head of the church, and the fountain of its spiritual authority,*—so *he* who takes such an oath, *might* also recognize the king as head of the church, and the fountain of its spiritual authority. Should it happen that such expressions either were or could be *so understood*, your most illustrious Lordship, and each of the Catholics themselves, ought to take notice, that this is a *manifest error*, and directly *contrary to the principles of the Catholic religion*, which acknowledges only *one head and fountain of all spiritual authority*, namely, the *Roman Pontiff*. And hence it appears, from this consideration, how *culpable* and *detestable* such an oath would be, since by it God would be assumed as a *Witness and Avenger of error!*

" Since then an oath of this nature is so irregu-

lar and reprehensible, let me ask you, who can conceive with what extreme bitterness of grief the most pious mind of the most Holy Father must be affected, so soon as the account shall reach his ears, that the *Catholic Laity*, *Ecclesiastics*, and even *Bishops*, have either offered themselves, or shewn not the least repugnance to take such an oath to Government, by whom it is not required, without *previously consulting the Holy See*, and listening to its *oracular decision*, according to that most laudable spirit of filial obedience and subordination due to the *Vicar of Jesus Christ*, and of that conformity to the *Center of Catholic Union*, which every one ought to observe, and which *the renowned Irish nation* has with singular and distinguished veneration professed, *so much to the glory of its immortal name!*

——— "If the above-mentioned facts be true, your most illustrious Lordship, from regard to your respectable ministry, should apply forthwith, with all possible efficacy and prudence, the speediest and fittest remedies for stopping the further progress of so pernicious and scandalous a *misregulation;* and for recalling those who may have already taken such an oath to their *proper duty*, that they may in the mean time repair the *scandal they have given;* because, as in other respects, *the oath, in its whole extent, is unlawful*, so in its nature, it is *invalid, null, and of no effect;* inso-

much that *it can by no means bind and oblige consciences.*

" Your Lordship, in the next place, should take care, by all such means as shall appear to you most expedient and effectual, and most agreeable to your own discretion, to signify to your *suffragan bishops*, and by their instrumentality, *to all the faithful*, what a *criminality* this *new oath* has annexed to it; and how *heinous a sin* they commit who either hold themselves in readiness to take it, or, most unfortunately, have already taken it."

THOMAS MARIA GHILINI,

Brussels, Oct. 14, 1768. Arbishop of *Rhodes.*"

To the Archbishop of Dublin.

The detection of this *treasonable* correspondence of the nuncio *Ghilini* with the *Irish* hierarchy, by the late bishop of *Cloyne*, Dr. *Woodward*, who first drew it forth from the shade, and published the original Latin letter, with an English translation, in the *Appendix* of his seasonable pamphlet, entitled, " *The Present State of the Church of Ireland*" in 1786, representing the persecutions of the established clergy, in *Munster* especially, by the *White Boys* of that period, created no slight sensation at *Rome*. In consequence of which, *Grandis et verbosa epistola a Capræis venit*, — " A long-winded, official letter" came, " by the authority and command of his Holi-

ness" the late Pope *Pius* VI. dated June 23, 1791, to the Titular Metropolitans of Ireland, which was inserted, with an English translation, in Dr. *Troy's Pastoral Instruction* of 1793, — exhorting his flock of the titular "Archdiocese of *Dublin*," to be loyal to his majesty, and submissive to the laws;" which was published critically, October 18, in the *Dublin Evening Post, the very day after* the breaking out, and suppression of the *insurrection* that year! *

Of this official Letter, the following is an extract:—

"Most Illustrious and most Reverend Lords and Brethren,

"We perceive from your late letter, the great uneasiness you labour under, since the publication of a pamphlet, entitled, "*The Present State of Ireland;*" from which our detractors have taken occasion to renew the *old calumny* against the Catholic religion with increased acrimony; namely, that *this religion is by no means compatible with the safety of kings and commonwealths;* because, as they say, *the Roman Pontiff being the father and master of all Catholics*, and invested with such great authority, that *he can free the subjects of other kingdoms from their fidelity and oaths of*

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* See *Hales*'s Letters on the *Religious and Political Tenets of the Romish Hierarchy*, addressed to Dr. *Troy*, &c. Second Edit. 1813. Stockdale, jun.

allegiance to kings and princes; he has it in his power, they contend, *to cause disturbances, and injure the public tranquillity of kingdoms with ease:*—We wonder that you could be uneasy at these complaints; especially after your most excellent brother and apostolical fellow-labourer the Archbishop of *Cashel*, [Dr. *Butler*], and other strenuous defenders of the *rights of the Holy See*, [Father *O'Leary*, &c.] had evidently refuted and *explained away* these slanderous reproaches in their celebrated writings."

"We judge, from an opinion of your learning, that the *rights of the Apostolic See* cannot be unknown to you, and that you are not unacquainted with the arguments by which they can be supported. — In this controversy, a most accurate distinction should be made between the *genuine rights of the Apostolic See*, and those that are *imputed* to it, by innovators of this age, for the purpose of calumniating. *The See of Rome never taught that faith is not to be kept with the heterodox:* that *an oath to kings separated from Catholic Communion, can be violated:* that *it is lawful for the Bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions. We, too,* consider *an attempt or design against the life of kings and princes,* even *under the pretext of religion, as a horrid and detestable crime.*"

This extract is also published in the valuable *Report* of the Committee of the House of Com-

mons, in 1817, respecting the intercourse of *foreign nations* with the *Court of Rome*, in *ecclesiastical* concerns, p. 427; but without either note or comment. To guard against this apparent acquiescence, therefore, in the Pope's statement, of an *official* document of such high authority and parliamentary importance, from which copious testimonies are adduced in the next section; the following strictures are requisite: —

1. The unqualified assertion of his Holiness, that "*the See of Rome never taught that faith is not to be kept with the heterodox,*" is either captious or false. In the bulls of popes, and decrees of councils, the word *heterodox (heterodoxis)* is nowhere used; the technical term employed, being constantly *heretics, (hereticis)*: why then did his Holiness suspiciously substitute a novel term?—if used in a different sense, the denial is *captious* and *equivocating*, calculated to blind the eyes of *Protestants;* if used as synonymous with *heretic*, it is downright *false*. In this dilemma, the nuncio *Ghilini* is much better authority than his Holiness: He honestly, because confidentially, declares, that "*the doctrine has been often followed in practice by the Apostolic See;*" —and that his declaration was not unacceptable to the Court of *Rome*, we may infer, from his being raised to the rank of *Cardinal*, in reward for his "precious letter," some time after.

The *doctrine*, however, that "*Faith is not to be kept with heretics*," is not "*taught*" absolutely or unconditionally; not in ordinary cases, or in the common intercourse of society; but in extraordinary or spiritual cases, whenever it may be *detrimental or prejudicial to the interests of the Church or See of Rome.* With this restriction, it is evidently understood by the *Nuncio;* and in this sense, indeed, it has often been followed in *practice* by the Apostolic See; the practice being the best and surest comment upon the *doctrine.*"

Such was the practice of Pope *Martin* V. in his letter to *Alexander*, duke of *Lithuania*, who had taken the *Bohemian Hussites* under his protction, dated May 21, 1423.

"But if, anyhow induced, you have *promised* to undertake their defence, know, that *you could not give faith to heretics*, violators of the holy faith, *and that you sin mortally if you keep it;* because *the faithful can have no communion with an infidel.*"

Pope *Pius* V.'s celebrated bull against Queen *Elizabeth*, dated February 24, 1569, absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance; and the same doctrine was inculcated by Pope *Gregory* XIII. in his bull of May 13, 1580, inciting the *Irish* to rebellion against her; by Pope *Clement* VIII. in 1600, against the same "*heretical* queen;" Pope *Paul* V. in his two briefs, 1606 and

1607, against the oath of allegiance made by parliament in the reign of *James* I.—To these a multitude of *foreign* testimonies might be added.

5. In 1774, the *Irish* act of 13 and 14 Geo. III. chap. 35, was passed, still in use: "to enable his Majesty's subjects, of *every description*, to testify their allegiance to him."

This act, nearly the same as that proposed and rejected in 1768, was approved of by many intelligent and loyal Roman Catholics; and especially by that respectable prelate Dr. *Butler*, Titular Archbishop of *Cashel;* who, when others, as he observes in his *Justification*, &c. "*hesitated* to consider the nature of that engagement they were desired to enter into, and the foundation of those principles they were desired to disclaim; took an active part himself, and his suffragans, to explain to their flocks the propriety of such a promise, in the following declaration:—

"July 15, 1775.

"We the Chiefs of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the province of *Munster*, having met together near *Cork*, have unanimously agreed, that the oath of allegiance, proposed by act of parliament, anno 13 et 14 Geo. III. regis, *contains nothing contrary to the principles of the Roman Catholic religion.*"

"A report," proceeds Dr. *Butler*, "was quickly circulated, that the Roman Catholic bishops of *Munster* were *all excommunicated* by his Holiness,

for countenancing such an *impiety* "———, "that a report had certainly reached *Rome*, that the *Irish Roman Catholic Clergy* had shaken off the Pope's supremacy in *spirituals*."

To counteract this malignant report, he wrote a long memorial in September, 1775, to Cardinal *Castelli*, president of the *Propaganda* at *Rome*, stating the grounds upon which the *Munster* prelates had acted; and demanding to know explicitly, what objection he had to their conduct. At length, after a delay of fourteen months, he received the following laconic censure in answer :—*

"Most Illustrious and most Reverend Lord and Brother,

"Your *duty*, and ACCUSTOMED *obsequiousness* toward this Holy See, seemed absolutely to require that, in *a matter of so great moment*, ye should have judged, that nothing ought to be determined without *having previously consulted the Supreme Pontiff*; whose decision might also have been awaited by you the more readily, because you were not constrained by *any compulsion*, or by *any law*, to produce such a *formulary*. This it is which has affected our most holy Lord and the congregation with no slight uneasiness. — But I pray God, that he may very long preserve your Lordship.

"J. M. CARDINAL CASTELLI."

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* See the Original, in *Butler's Justification*, or *Hales's Letters to Dr. Troy*.

This decides the point, that "a *formulary* denying the Pope's supremacy in *temporals*, and disclaiming those tenets *imputed* to the Roman Catholic religion, was judged reprehensible at *Rome*:" as honestly and judiciously remarked by Dr. *Butler*. — The pretext of the Popish partizans, that the Pope's *spiritual* primacy is invaded, is only to cover his usurpation of *ecclesiastical supremacy*, which is in fact a *temporal* jurisdiction; as will be shewn more fully in the next case.

6. In the year 1778, an act of parliament was passed for the relief of the *English Roman Catholics*, in order to enable them to testify their allegiance; and in order to entitle themselves to further relief from parliament, and to be put on the same footing with *Protestant Dissenters*, they, under the denomination of *English Catholic Dissenters*, drew up a *Declaration* of their principles and *Protestation* of their loyalty, in March, 1789, which was signed by six of their prelates, including the *four Vicars Apostolic*, five peers, above two hundred of their clergy, and with very few exceptions, all the Roman Catholic laity of any note in *England*. And upon the basis of this universally approved *Declaration*, a very respectable Committee was appointed by the *Roman Catholic* body, to draw up heads of a bill, to be presented to parliament by Mr. *Mitford*, then Attorney-General, (now Lord *Redesdale*), preparatory to an "act to relieve, under certain conditions and re-

strictions, persons called *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*, from the penalties and disabilities to which *Papists*, or persons professing the *Popish* religion, are by law subject."

But this well-intended bill was unfortunately quashed by the tergiversation of three of the Vicars Apostolic, who had signed the previous Declaration, at the instigation of the Court of *Rome;* for they issued *encyclical*, or circular letters, to their flocks, dated Oct. 19, 1789, and Jan. 21, 1791, censuring the proposed oath of allegiance as *unlawful*, and inhibiting them from taking *it*, or *any new oath;* and also from subscribing any *new declaration*, on *doctrinal* matters, or any *new instrument*, wherein the *interests of religion* [*i. e.* the *Romish*] are concerned, without the previous approbation of their respective *bishops*, [*i. e.* the *Vicars Apostolic* themselves].

In consequence of this authoritative censure and inhibition, the greater part of the *Roman Catholics* who had signed the declaration, withdrew their names. But the Committee, highly to the credit of their consistency, entered into a formal vindication of the soundness of their principles, in some expostulatory letters, addressed to the *Apostolic Vicars*, and to the *Catholics of England*, justifying their own proceedings; and concluding with a strong *protest* against the arbitrary measures of the three seceding vicars.

The clause in the existing oath of allegiance to

which chiefly the *Roman Catholics* in general have all along objected and excepted, is the following: — "And I do declare, that no *foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate* hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, *ecclesiastical* or *spiritual,* within this realm."

This clause was thus judiciously altered in the new oath proposed: — "And I do protest and declare, and do solemnly swear it to be my most sincere opinion, belief, and persuasion, that *no foreign church, prelate or priest,* or *assembly of prelates or priests,* hath, or ought to have, *any jurisdiction or authority whatsoever, within this realm, that can directly or indirectly affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, constitution, or government thereof;* or *the rights, liberties, persons, or properties of the people of the said realm, or any of them;*—save only and except by the authority of *parliament;* and that any such assumption of power would be an *usurpation.*"—*Declaration,* pp. 12, 152.

And, to remove doubts and scruples that might still be entertained about its meaning, whether it denied or admitted the *spiritual authority* of the Church of *Rome,* or the *spiritual primacy* of the Pope, the Committee proposed to the Roman Catholic Universities of *Louvain,* in Flanders, *Paris* and *Douay,* in France, and *Alcala, Salamanca* and *Valladolid,* in Spain, (at the requisi-

tion of the prime minister, Mr. *Pitt)*, in 1769, three questions on the subject for their opinions; which were accordingly obtained, and proved satisfactory.* And still further, to satisfy such doubts and scruples, they proposed the following Case to the opinion of a most eminent lawyer and civilian, at home, Mr. *Hill*, premier serjeant at law :—

CASE.

"A doubt has arisen in the minds of some [Roman] Catholics, whether some parts of the proposed oath (particularly the foregoing clause) do not amount to a denial of the *spiritual rights*, with which, according to their religious tenets, the Church [of *Rome*], and her Ministers, and particularly the Pope, is invested: —— [such] as those of *preaching the faith, administering the sacraments, ordaining the ministers of the church, punishing by spiritual censures*, &c. — If it amount to a denial of the Pope, the Church and her Ministers, being invested with the rights of this nature, it is an oath which a Catholic cannot take *consistently* with his religious principles.

"On the other hand it is contended, that it is not meant to deny by the oath any *spiritual* right of the *Church*, or that the *Pope* is its *spiritual head;* but merely the right of the *Church*, or

* See these Questions and the Answers of the Foreign Universities, in the *Report of the Committee of the House of Commons*, pp. 514—540.

Pope, to interfere in *temporal* concerns, or to have, either directly or indirectly, any *temporal power* in this kingdom.

"The question therefore is, Whether the oath in question, and particularly this clause, is a denial of the *spiritual authority* of the *Church*, or the *spiritual supremacy of the Pope?*

OPINION.

"No *form of Civil Government*, nor any *system of Laws* was instituted by CHRIST or his *Apostles*, nor any commission granted to their successors, to enforce the Christian Doctrine by *temporal power*. The authority of the Church is derived from them. The words of the oath do not import a denial of their having this [*spiritual*] authority; they only deny their having *temporal power*, or a right to enforce their spiritual authority by temporal power. This is all the party who takes the oath will, or can, be understood to swear or assert, when he swears in the words of the oath, '*that they have not any jurisdiction or authority*,' &c. Therefore, I think the oath is not a denial of the *spiritual authority* of the *Church*, or the *supremacy of the Pope*."

Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 18, 1791. "G. HILL."

The truth is, the *spiritual primacy* of the *Pope* of *Rome*, as successor of St. *Peter*, "*the first* of the Apostles" in rank or precedence, but not in authority or jurisdiction over the rest of the Apos-

tles; has been artfully and industriously confounded by the popes and their partizans, with *ecclesiastical supremacy* or jurisdiction over the other originally independent Churches and their Bishops. Our blessed SAVIOUR, indeed, born to *fulfil all righteousness*, set an example of complete obedience to the established government of his country. As a *Jew*, he complied with the law of *Moses;* as a *Roman*, he complied with the edicts of the Emperor: "*My kingdom*," said he, "*is not of this world*,"— not *temporal* but *spiritual;* and he strongly marked the line which divides *civil* from *religious duties:* he paid tribute himself, and bade his followers to "*give to Cæsar the dues of Cæsar*, and *to God the dues of God*." But when his religion spread, and was adopted by the state, the *ecclesiastical* regimen, *so far as it was by law established* in any country, became a part of the *temporal government* of that country. From this alliance, *spiritual* and *temporal* concerns became insensibly intermixed; and in many cases, where the two powers stood in opposition, a perplexing confusion often ensued; of which, the vigilant policy of the *Roman Pontiffs* successfully availed themselves, by a series of artful encroachments upon the other *ecclesiastical* and *temporal powers*, to effect their usurped *supremacy*, under the mask of their acknowledged *primacy*. A supremacy, indeed, involving *temporal dominion*, in matters of

the highest importance, such as *disposing of thrones*, levying money, *Peter's pence, first fruits*, &c. *interdicts, excommunications*, &c. &c.

Finding all their efforts ineffectual to reclaim the *seceding* Vicars Apostolic, the Committee concluded their meritorious labours with the following

PROTEST.

"We, the Catholic Committee, whose names are here underwritten, for ourselves, and for those in whose trusts we have acted, do hereby, before God, solemnly protest, and call upon God to witness our protest against your Lordship's *Encyclical* Letters of the 19th day of October, 1789, and the 21st of January, 1791, and every clause, article, determination, matter, and thing therein respectively contained,—as imprudent, arbitrary, and unjust; as a total *misrepresentation* of the nature of the *bills* to which they respectively refer, and the *oaths* therein respectively contained; and our conduct relating thereto respectively; as encroaching on our natural, civil, and religious rights; inculcating *principles hostile to Society* and *Government*, and the *Constitution* and *Laws* of the British empire; as derogatory from the *allegiance* we owe to the State, and the settlement of the Crown; and as tending to continue, increase, and confirm the *prejudices* against the faith and moral character of the *Catholics*, and the scandal and oppression under which they labour in this kingdom.

"In the same manner, we do hereby solemnly

protest, and call upon God to witness this our solemn protest, against all proceedings had, or hereafter to be had, in consequence of, or grounded upon your Lordship's said *Encyclical* Letters, or either of them; or any representation of the bills or oaths therein respectively referred to, given, or to be given by your Lordships, or any of you.

"And from your Lordships' said *Encyclical* Letters, and all proceedings had, or hereafter to be had, in consequence of, or grounded upon the same, or either of them, given or to be given by your Lordship, or any of you, We do hereby *appeal*, and call on God to witness our appeal, for the purity and integrity of our religious principles, to *all the Catholic Churches in the universe*, and especially to the *first* of Catholic Churches, *the Apostolical See, rightly informed.*"

Chas. Berington *. Stanton,
Jos. Wilks. Petre,
Hy. Chas. Englefield,
John Lawson,
John Throckmorton,
William Fermor,
John Towneley,
Thomas Hornyold."

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* Vicar Apostolic of the middle district, "*the only faithful found.*" The other three renegade vicars, were *Charles Walmsley*, V. A. of the western district; *John Talbot*, V. A. of the southern district; *William Sharrock*, V. A. of the northern district.—See the *Declaration*, pp. 99, 100.

And I shall close this interesting extract from their curious and valuable publication of the *Declaration*, &c. and their *Correspondence* with the *Vicars*, &c. republished by Stockdale, jun. 1812, with the well-chosen and pointed mottos prefixed thereto, from two of our greatest statesmen and philosophers:—

"Those who adhere simply to the *Church of Rome*, are *good Catholics;* those who adhere to *the Court of Rome*, are Papists; — *enemies* and *traitors* to the *realm of England;* and *utterly unfit for any trust in any Protestant country.*"

Lord Somers.

"*That Church* can have no right to be *tolerated* by the *magistrate*, which is constituted upon such a bottom; that all those who enter into it do thereby, *ipso facto*, deliver themselves up to the protection and service of *another* prince; — for by this means the *magistrate* would give way to the settling of a *foreign jurisdiction* in his own country, and suffer his own *subjects* to be *listed*, as it were, *against his own government.*" *Locke.*

The Roman Catholic Committee, with becoming spirit, appeal to "*all the Catholic Churches in the universe:*" and that their appeal is well founded, and must be favourably received and approved by all, except the *Church of Rome* herself, the grand delinquent, until "*rightly informed*," will be shewn in the next section.

SECTION V.

PRECAUTIONS OF FOREIGN NATIONS TO COUNTERACT THE USURPED SUPREMACY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

THE modern distinction between the *Supreme Head of the Church* and the *Supreme Head of the State*, was unknown in ancient times. In the patriarchal ages, the royal and ecclesiastical powers were frequently united in the prince. Thus, *Melchizedek*, *king* of *Salem*, was also *Priest* of the MOST HIGH GOD; to whom *Abraham* offered the tythes of his spoils, after he had vanquished the *Assyrian* confederates, Gen. xiv. 18—20. In the heroic times, *Anius* was king of the sacred isle of *Delos*, and *priest* of *Apollo;* as *Virgil* and *Ovid* inform us:

> " Rex *Anius*, *rex* idem hominum, Phœbique *sacerdos*."
>
> ÆNEID, iii. 80.

> " Hunc, *Anius*, quo *rege* homines, *antistite* Phœbus
> " Rite colebatur, temploque domoque recepit."
>
> METAM. xiii.

And in early *Rome*, the first kings, *Romulus*, *Numa*, &c. combined both powers, as *Pontifex*

Maximus, and *Chief of the Augurs;* which were entailed upon the emperors *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, &c. down to *Gratian*. He relinquished these *heathen* titles, which were afterwards assumed by the *Popes*, as remarked in the Introduction, p. 45—50.

Hence, *Constantine* the Great*, the first Christian emperor, uniting both powers in himself, fully exercised the *ecclesiastical jurisdiction*. This illustrious prince used to say, that "a bishop was not only the bishop of his own diocese; but that he was the bishop of all." And, therefore, in this august character, as Supreme Head of the Church in his dominions, or *Chief Guardian of the peace of the Church*, he convened the general councils of his empire, *Nice*, &c. whenever disputes arose about matters either of *doctrine* or *discipline*. In questions of *heresy* and *schism*, the emperor ratified the decisions of the *ecclesiastical synods* held thereon, and punished the delinquent bishops or clergy, by confiscation of goods, imprisonment, exile, or even death, whomsoever he should find *disturbing the peace of the Church*.

But a succession of ambitious and enterprizing Popes from *Hildebrand* or *Gregory* VII. to *Innocent* III. gradually usurped the privileges and

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* See an *Historical Enquiry into the Ancient Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Crown*, traced up to *Constantine*'s time, by *James Baldwin Browne*: cited *Report*, &c. p. 158—160.

rights of the emperors and kings of Europe; and at length established a despotic influence throughout Christendom, which the several sovereign powers have long struggled to restrain or abolish, both at home and abroad.

In the year 1812, a circular letter was written by Lord Viscount *Castlereagh*, * principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs; and another by Earl *Bathurst*, * in 1815, to his Majesty's ministers at foreign courts, requesting they would procure and communicate to Sir *John Cox Hippisley* information respecting the *laws* of *foreign countries* as they affect the *Roman Catholics;* and a *Committee of the House of Commons* was appointed to report from the great mass of evidence thus furnished, the system of *ecclesiastical polity*, which, under different shades of regulation, prevails in the several foreign states respecting their Roman Catholic subjects, and their intercourse with the Church and See of Rome.

Accordingly, the *Report* was drawn up, with a copious *Appendix*, containing the documents on which it was founded, and published in a folio volume, in 1817; which, for compass, variety, and accuracy of information, and the luminous arrangement of the materials, reflects great honour on the industry and ability employed in the compilation of the work.

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*. See *Report*, p. 3, 4. 52. 73.

The principal points to which their attention was directed, were, —

I. The modes of *nominating*, *appointing*, and *electing* the *Roman Catholic Prelates* and *Clergy*, and their *oaths* to the Pope.

II. The restraints imposed upon Papal *Nunciatures*, *Bulls*, *Mandates*, *Rescripts*, *Collations*, &c. &c.

III. Miscellaneous articles of ecclesiastical regulation: respecting the different orders of *Monks*, especially the *Jesuits;* marriages of the laity, and of priests; divorces, excommunications, interdicts, auricular confessions, &c.

The foreign states reviewed in the Report, are reduced to three classes: —

I. Those in communion with the Church of *Rome* in *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Switzerland*.

II. Those of the Greek Church, not connected with the Church of *Rome*, *Russia*.

III. Those of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinistic* Churches separated from the Church of Rome, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Prussia*, &c. and the *British Colonies* in *America* and the *East Indies*.

Deviating from the precise order of the Report, I shall begin, in this abridgment of its substance, with

FRANCE.

This great kingdom was the foremost in *Europe* to found, augment, and establish the *spiritual* and *temporal* dominions of the See of *Rome;* in con-

sequence of which, its kings have long been honoured by that See, with the title of "Most Christian," and styled "the Eldest Sons of the Church." For, when the people of *Rome* withdrew their allegiance from the Eastern Emperors, A. D. 726, they attached themselves to the neighbouring rulers and kings of *France*, then most powerful in the west; and in return, *Pepin* conferred on the Pope the exarchate of *Ravenna*, A. D. 756. His son, *Charlemagne*, annexed the duchy of *Rome*, and also a considerable part of *Lombardy*, to be held by the Pope and his successors as *fiefs* of the empire, A.D. 774; and he was formally crowned Emperor of the *Romans*, by the Pope, A. D. 779; and his son, *Louis* the Pious, granted "*St. Peter's patrimony*" to the Pope and his successors, in their *own right, principality, and dominion, unto the end of the world*," A.D. 817. Hence, the Pope assumed the *three keys* in his arms, and the *triple crown* or *mitre*, as a *temporal* prince; and "*his look was more stout than his fellows*," "the other horns," over whom he domineered as the "*little horn*;" and frequently awed them by his anathemas or excommunications, as foretold in prophecy.—Dan. vii. 7, 8, 20—24. See *Hales's New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 544.

Charlemagne, however, was careful to maintain his *ecclesiastical* supremacy. In a council held at *Rome*, A. D. 782, Pope *Adrian* I. granted to *Charlemagne*, emperor and king of *France*, and to

his successors, authority to ordain the election of *Popes*, and to confirm it; and declared, moreover, that the *Archbishops* and *Bishops* in *each* of the provinces should be obliged to receive their *investiture* from him, and should not be consecrated until they had done so; and the decree of this council was received among the genuine *Canons of the Church*, published by *Sigebert;* as proved against *Baronius* by the *German* writers; who judiciously remark, that the expression, *Per singulas provincias*, "in *each* of the provinces," in the Pope's grant, specially referred to *Italy* only, then recently conquered; and not to any of the other provinces possessed by *Charlemagne*, in which he made use of the right of nomination, by virtue of his succession to the monarchs his predecessors. *Report*, &c. p. 262.

And accordingly, in the year 798, *Charlemagne* caused the Bishop of *Salzburgh* to be raised to the rank of Archbishop, over the other bishops of *Bavaria:* and by his orders, Pope *Leo* III. conferred upon him the pall and canonical consecration, as appears from his Letter to the Emperor: —

"The *mandate* of your Royal Excellency was made known unto us, — that we should give the pall to Bishop *Arnon:* and with a willing mind we have accommodated him, according to your *royal mandate;* and have granted to the aforesaid *Arnon* the use of the pall, and canonically ordained him

Archbishop, in the province of the *Bavarians*." — *Report*, p. 156.

Gregory, of *Tours*, and all the ancient French historians, adduce numerous instances of the French kings of the first and second race disposing of the prelatures; and usually state the fact in these words: *Talis episcopus ordinatus, jussu regis ascensu vel decreto*, — "Such a bishop was ordained by the command, assent, or decree of the king." The successors of *Hugh Capet* did the same, as appears from numerous testimonies of the fact, adduced by *Fulbert*, bishop of *Chartres*. *Report*, p. 262.

Sometimes, however, it happened, that prelates who were scrupulous, after their election by the Crown, would repair to *Rome*, to be confirmed by the Pope; which gave rise to frequent contentions between the Popes and the French monarchs. Thus, when *Boniface* VIII. in 1301, insolently claimed supremacy over *Philip le Bel*, in the following terms: — "*Boniface*, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to *Philip*, king of *the French: Fear God*, &c. — We wish you to know, that you are subordinate to us, both in *spirituals* and *temporals*:" the king thus superciliously answered: "*Philip*, by the grace of God, king of the *French*, to *Boniface*, acting as *Supreme Pontiff*, little or no greeting: "Be it known to your superlative stupidity, that in *temporals we are not*

subordinate to any one." — Indeed, even the haughty and imperious *Innocent* III. A. D. 1198, some time before indirectly admitted the *French* king's claim, in one of his Rescripts: "Besides, as the king himself, by no means, recognizes a superior in *temporals*," &c.

And when an *interdict* had been laid by the Archbishop of *Rheims* upon the church of *Beauvois*, and the Pope's chaplain, *Peter de Collomedio*, was ordered by his Holiness to enquire more fully concerning it, he was immediately stopped from proceeding to the enquiry, by *Louis* IX. A. D. 1225. "We were inhibited," says he, "by our Lord, *Louis*, king of the *French*, from taking any cognizance of the church-service of *Beauvois*, or of matters pertaining thereto; or to his royalties, or any matters pertaining to his *temporal* jurisdiction, either directly or indirectly; and we were ordered not to *presume* to make any inquiry whatsoever." *Report*, &c. p. 255.

The nature and foundation of the *ecclesiastical* supremacy of the Crown of *France*, is thus ably stated by the learned French jurist, *Pithou*.

"It is neither by virtue of the *Concordat*, of any concession or privilege granted by the *Pope*, nor in consequence of the practice of *other* sovereigns and states, that the kings of *France* exercise the right of *appointing to prelatures*. The Concordat might be abolished, but the right would still remain. It is inherent in the *French* monarchs from the

commencement of their monarchy: it is an *essential* appendage of the Crown; kings appoint, because they are *kings*.

"The instant the *Church* acquired a *Civil* existence, its *Dignities* became *real magistracies;* the disposal of which necessarily belongs to the sovereign, as they are a delegated portion of the *Supreme Power*, and protected by the *laws* and by the *arms of the* state.

"There is nothing repugnant either to piety or to reason, that the king shall select from among those who have been *regularly ordained*, him whom he thinks *most proper* to be a *bishop*, or *prelate;* and to exact from him an *oath* of fidelity and allegiance. No state maxim can induce the king of *France* to tolerate, that a *foreign power, ignorant of the true interests of this country*, or *whose interest may be opposite to theirs*, should appoint to the *prelatures*. The *patent* of the appointed prelates, and their *consecration*, are left to the *Pope;* but the *choice* of those who are to be consecrated, is left to kings.—The king has no concern with the *spiritual* part of the clerical office; it is over its *public functions* that he presides."—*Report*, &c. pp. 22, 23, 265.

This valuable work "On the Regulations of the *Gallican* Church, and its intercourse with the See of *Rome*," first published by *Pithou* in 1639, and 1651, and enlarged, with the Comments of *Dupuy*, and *Durand de Maillane*, and republished

1781, with the royal sanction, and registered in the parliament of *Paris*, with the special approbation of the College of the *Sorbonne*, is perfectly authentic, and a document of the first importance in this enquiry. — *Report*, pp. 22, 255.

THE LIBERTIES OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

In the *Gallican* Church (that is, in the Assembly not only of the *Clergy*, but also of *all the Faithful* of that kingdom) no novelties are admitted, nor any laws, statutes, decrees, or public mandates; not even of *General Councils* for reformation, or regulation of morals, against the laws, customs, or approved Canons of the kingdom, unless the *consent of the king be annexed*, according to the Proverb, "*Remove not the ancient land-marks which thy fathers have set.*" — Prov. xxii. 28.

And their intercourse with the Church of *Rome* is regulated by the following maxims, or general rules;—

1. The authority of the *Pope*, even in *spiritual* matters, is not absolute in *France*, but restrained and limited by those canons and regulations of the *Ancient Councils*, which have been adopted in that kingdom.

2. The *Popes* have no authority to issue *any* commands, ordinances, or injunctions, general or special, in any country or territory subject to the

dominion of the Most Christian king: And if he should issue any such injunctions, the subjects of his Majesty, though in *Clerical orders*, are not obliged to obey them. — *Report*, pp. 255, 256.

The power of the *Nuncios* of the Pope in France are strictly defined; they cannot enter the kingdom but at the demand of the monarch, or with his consent. And they cannot exercise their functions, but after they have given their solemn *written* promise, not to attempt any thing against the *Royal Authority;* and not to continue in *France* beyond the pleasure of his majesty. This is proved in several cases, and especially by the oath of Cardinal *Mauroceno* to king *Henry* III. in the year 1576. *

French prelates cannot leave the kingdom, for whatever cause it may be, without the special licence of his majesty, even when they are sent for by the *Pope.*

The Court of *Rome* cannot levy any tithes, taxes, impositions, alms, contributions, *Peter's pence*, for oaths of pardon and indulgence, &c. without the express permission of the king, and the consent of his clergy.

It is not in the power of the Pope to *absolve* subjects from their *oaths of allegiance*, or to deprive the king of his kingdom, and to dispose of it in favour of any other individual. Nor can any

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* See this Oath, *Report*, &c. pp. 256, 257.

admonition, excommunication, or interdiction, excuse the *temporal* obedience of the subject to the king.

No jurisdiction is allowed either to the *Pope*, or his legate *a latere*, or to any of his delegates, over the subjects of the king, *even with their own consent*, in matters concerning *marriage portions*, *divorces*, or separations of married persons, so far as property is concerned, *adultery*, *forgery*, *perjury*, *sacrilege*, *usury*. The cognizance of all these and similar cases, belongs to the King and to the Civil Judges. Nor can the Pope, or his Legate, *absolve* the subjects of the King in these cases but in as far as it respects the *conscience* and *penitentiary jurisdiction* only. Nor can the Pope order any *sequestration of property* in any *ecclesiastical* matter.

No *religious orders* can be admitted nor established in *France*, without the express permission of the King; nor can any new *monasteries* be erected without it.

The Pope cannot grant any *dispensation* in whatever pertains to the *Divine Law*, or to the *Law of Nature*, nor in cases where *General Councils* do not permit him to pardon.

Papal Bulls and *Rescripts*, letters of citation, executorials, preliminations, or others of a similar nature, are not followed or executed in *France*, without having been approved of by the King, and duly registered. They obtain the force of law

by the formal letters of the King, called *Pareatis*; consequently, by the *sole authority of the King*, not by *Apostolic authority*.

No subject of the King can be summoned before the Court of *Rome*. This is now acknowledged by Pope *Urban* V., who formally declared, in a Bull,—that no person could, under any pretence of privilege or of service, be summoned before a *foreign* Judge.

Ever since the *Concordat* between Pope *Leo* X. and *Francis* I. in the year 1515, the French monarchs have had the *actual nomination*, or appointment, of *all Archbishops*, *Bishops*, and *Prelates*.

Even the *Revolutionary* government of *France* were no less careful and attentive to guard against the possibility of encroachment from the Court of *Rome*, than the *Social régime*; and the most material of the former regulations were revived in the recent *Concordats* with the Pope, of 1801, 1813, &c.

The following is the *Oath of Fidelity*, in use before the *Revolution*, required to be taken to the *New Governments* 1801, by the Prelates; and still in use:—

"I swear, and promise to God, upon the Holy Evangelists, to preserve obedience and fidelity to the Government established by the Constitution of the French Republic. I likewise promise to carry on no correspondence, to be present at no

conversation, to form no connexion, whether within the territories of the Republic or without, which may, in any degree, disturb the public tranquillity; and if in my diocese, or elsewhere, I discover that any thing is going forward to the prejudice of the State, I will immediately communicate to Government all the information I possess." *Report*, &c. pp. 25, 255—305.

SPAIN.

Of all the States of Europe, the Peninsula of *Spain* and *Portugal* have always been the most devoted to the Church of *Rome*, and "the most obsequious servants of the *Roman* Pontiff."*

In *Spain* was first introduced and established that dreadful instrument of papal usurpation and tyranny over the consciences of mankind, the *Inquisition;* which *France*, highly to her honour, would never admit, nor suffer to be established in her dominions. But even *Spain* found it necessary to guard against the encroachments of the See of *Rome*, in the foregoing points of *ecclesiastical* regulation, though she nominally admitted the decrees of the Council of *Trent;* which *France* openly rejected. *Report*, p. 203. The Spanish

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* *Hispanos* reges excipio, *servos Pontificum Romanorum obsequentissimos. Bodin*, de Repub. Lib. i. cap. 6.

writers all assert the right, and the exercise of the *nomination* of Prelates by the Crown.

"The *Catholic* King has the nomination of Prelates in his kingdom and dominions, by virtue of the right of patronage.—The *Catholic* King has in *Spain*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and his *other dominions*, the right of electing, naming, and presenting Prelates to prelatures, benefices, and rectories." *Camillus Borellus* De præstantia Regis Catholici.

"It is evident that the nomination of Bishops belongs to the King." *Garcias Loaysa*, in 12 Concil, Tolet. Anni 681. p. 607.

And this right was exercised all along in the *Low Countries* also.

How jealous the kings were of their prerogatives in this respect, appears from the conduct of *Ferdinand* II. king of *Arragon*, in 1479. On the demise of his father, the Pope gave the bishopric of *Tarracona* to *Andrew Martinez*. But the King, highly offended at this invasion of his right, ordered *Martinez* to renounce the Pope's patent, under pain of his displeasure; and remonstrated with the Pope, that the popes had at all times conferred the benefices in his dominions at the nomination of the kings his predecessors, because they were *the founders of those Churches;* that the same custom was prevalent in the states of *all Christian Princes;* and finally, he entreated the Pope not to appoint any more to any Catholic

Church in his dominions, without his consent; and not only with regard to benefices vacated in *Spain*, but also with regard to those that might happen to become vacant in the Court of *Rome*. It was further observed by the King, that experience shewed that Churches ought to be confided only to persons who were *trust-worthy*, and *sincerely attached to the welfare of the State;* and that such persons could be known to *none, better than the king*.

Again, in 1484, when the Pope had appointed to the vacant archbishopric of *Seville*, Don *Rodrigue Borja*, Cardinal of *Valentia*, without the presentation or consent of the king and queen, severe measures were taken. The Duke of *Candia*, son of the Cardinal, was ordered to retire from court, and deprived of all the pensions and emoluments he held under the crown; so that the Cardinal was forced to desist from his rash enterprize, and the See was given to *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoça*, cousin to the Cardinal of *Spain*, upon the presentation of the king and queen.—*Zurita Annales d'Arragon*. See the Originals of those cases, *Report*, &c. pp. 264, 265.

The present king of *Spain*, *Ferdinand* VII. gave a presentation to the Episcopal See of *Segovia*, in favour of *Don Isidore de Celis*, August 19, 1814; and the present Pope, *Pius* VII. in his rescript, " appointing him bishop of *Segovia*, by desire of the king of *Spain*," introduced a clause,

requiring the new Bishop "to cause to establish in the city of *Segovia* a *Monte de Piete*, or charitable institution for lending money; and that he would not fail to do so, as he valued the force of his conscience." But the King's Advocate protested against this clause, as interfering with the Royal prerogative, in imposing a *pecuniary contribution* on his subjects; and an Act of Council was passed, for striking out the objectionable clause, at Madrid, Dec. 19, 1814.

With a view to preserve their own prerogatives, the Kings of Spain have ordered that every Archbishop or Bishop in *Spain*, or the *Indian* provinces, should, *before* his consecration, swear not to claim or receive the royal revenue, not to obstruct the collection of it, nor to injure in any way the royal jurisdiction; and lastly, to respect the royal patronage; and that, without having complied with this condition, the Archbishops and Bishops should not be put into possession of their respective Sees. This is strictly adhered to in practice.

Their *consecration oath* to the Pope, omits the clause of swearing "to maintain the *royalties of St. Peter;*" and also omits the *persecuting* clause against *Heretics*, *Schismatics*, and *Rebels* against the Pope. And about the middle of the last century, it was ordered by the King, that the Archbishops and Bishops in the Peninsula should, in their oath of consecration, include the clause of fidelity to the King, and of deference to his pre-

rogative; and those who of late years have been sworn, have ended their consecration oaths with the following words:—

"All this I swear, without prejudice to the *regal rights*, and *legitimate customs, usages, agreements, laws;* and to *my entire submission* to my Lord *Ferdinand,* King of *Spain* and of the *Indies.* So help me God, and these holy Gospels of God."

This clause of obedience, and deference to the Royal prerogative, was so disagreeable to the present ambitious Pope, who has every inclination, without the ability, to maintain the ancient usurpation of the Papacy, that a note was transmitted by his Nuncio to the Council of State, requiring that it should be omitted in the consecration oath. But by a resolution of the King in Council, Jan. 12, 1815, it was decreed, That "*inasmuch as his Majesty had been better informed on the subject, no innovation should take place respecting the clause* in question." Report, &c. pp. 312, 313.

During the captivity of the King, by *Bonaparte,* the *Cortes,* or Parliament of *Spain,* abolished the *Inquisition,* and substituted a new Tribunal, under the title of Protector of the Faith; and ordered the decree for its establishment to be published in the Parish Churches.

But the *Pope*'s Nuncio in Spain, *Gravina* Archbishop of *Nicea,* under-hand, opposed the publication and execution of this Decree, in behalf of his Holiness, until the Pope had given his consent

or approbation; and, by means of a secret correspondence with the Chapters of *Malaga* and *Granada*, and the Archbishop of *Jaen*, exhorting them to delay, and even to refuse their acquiescence to the Decree, endeavoured to sow dissatisfaction and insubordination to the Government among the *Spanish* Clergy. But the Archbishop of *Toledo*, President of the Regency, detected the correspondence; and this induced him to issue a decree, ordering the *Nuncio* to quit Spain, and to seize upon his temporalities, unless, in future, he should keep within the limits of his mission, and submit all his remonstrances to the inspection of Government, through the medium of the Secretary of State; concluding thus: "And your Excellency may be sure, that should you henceforward *forget the duties of your charge*, his Highness the President will find himself in the painful, though absolute necessity of exercising his full power in the execution of those (duties) which he swore to fulfil, when he accepted the high trust committed into his hands."

ANTONIO CANO MANUEL.

Cadiz, April 23, 1813.

To his Lordship the Archbishop of Nicea.

And the following Exhortation to the *Spanish* Hierarchy is subjoined by the President himself:—

"The Reasons which have compelled me to

this resolution, and the incontrovertible truths which, as Protector of the sacred Laws of the Church, I have pointed out in this Manifesto, make me trust that the worthy Prelates of the *Spanish* Church, and their respectable Chapters, will contribute, by means of their authority and sacred learning, to the fulfilment of the good wishes of the Sovereign Congress, and my own, in favour of Religion and the State." (Signed)

L. De Bourbon,

Cardinal of *Scala*, Archbishop of *Toledo*,

Cadiz, *April* 23, 1813. President.

Thus did this loyal and enlightened President, though one of the College of Cardinals, and thereby more particularly connected with the Pope, temperately, yet firmly, resist the machinations of the Nuncio against the State. See the Documents at length, Report, &c. pp. 343—347.

To these we may add, the severe Edict of the Royal Council, at Madrid, reprobating a *Monitory* of Jan. 30, 1768, issued by the Court of *Rome*, against the Government of *Parma;* and prohibiting the same, and *all other writings, letters*, or *dispatches* of said Court, which may in future be introduced into the kingdom, and infringe upon the *Royal Prerogative* or *other rights of Government*, or that are likely to *disturb the public tranquillity*, from being printed or published; and, on the contrary, command-

ing them to be delivered to the Council, *under pain of death*, against the Notaries and Lawyers, who act in opposition to the present regulation.

To this Edict is annexed a circular Letter to the *Spanish* Bishops, prohibiting the Bull *in Cœna Domini*, to be published in Spain, on which the Pope's Monitory was grounded; and charging his Holiness with indirectly claiming the sovereignty of *Parma*, though guaranteed to the King's nephew, the Infant Don *Ferdinand;* and, in this instance, aiming a severe blow against the laws, customs, and prerogatives of the Crown of *Spain*, and even those of all *Europe*." And it represents these arbitrary measures of the Pope as owing to the machinations of the *Jesuits*, in revenge for their expulsion from the *Spanish* dominions, in consequence of the suppression of the Order by Pope Clement XIV. in his Bull, 1773. Report, &c. pp. 329—337.

How much, indeed, the present ambitious Pontiff is influenced by that crafty and unprincipled Order, is evident from his Bull for its revival in 1814. And, strange to tell, the infatuated *Ferdinand* VII. issued an edict, June 9, 1815, for their re-establishment in Spain, with their respective colleges, *benefices*, professing-houses, residences, &c. Report, &c. pp. 350—352.

In consequence of this edict, about thirty Jesuits had returned to *Spain*, by Mr. *Vaughan*'s report, to Lord *Castlereagh*, dated Jan. 18, 1816. But

they found some difficulty in procuring the restitution of their convents and property, because the Bulls for their re-establishment had not yet been received from *Rome*. "It is supposed," he adds, "that the *Spanish* Government will require the residence of the General of their Order, in *Spain*, as the remonstrances of his Catholic Majesty have usually proved fruitless, when the Generals of Religious Orders resided at *Rome*." Report, &c. pp. 305, 306.

PORTUGAL.

The Crown of Portugal has strenuously asserted its rights and prerogatives, from early times, both in the *nomination of Prelates*, and controul over *Papal rescripts*.

When a See became vacant, the Government sent three names to the Pope, who was bound to select the first on the list, and to issue a bull or patent for his consecration. The same usage was retained in the Colonies. Report, &c. p. 487.

How jealous the *Portuguese* Government is, in respect of the *Papal* claims, may appear from a recent occurrence, noticed by Sir *Charles Stuart* to Lord *Castlereagh*, in his Letter, Jan. 28, 1816.

A *Portuguese* clergyman, intimate with the *Nuncio*, wrote a pamphlet questioning the rights of Sovereigns to examine the *dogmatic* Bulls of the

Pope, respecting some truth divinely revealed, or reproofs of errors against faith. But the author having been refused the licences necessary for publication, printed the work in *England*. A number of copies having been distributed in *Portugal*, the principles inculcated therein attracted the notice of the Royal Censors of *Portugal;* one of whom immediately drew up, and transmitted to Government, a critical review of the work, shewing the dangerous tendency of the doctrines supported by the Court of Rome to subvert the established laws of the realm; which induced the Government to direct the *Procurador de Corona*, or Attorney General, to commence a legal prosecution against the author. An interesting extract from "this very able Review," is given in the Report, pp. 31, 353, 371—373.

The edict of *Joseph* I. King of *Portugal*, dated April 4, 1768, forbidding the importation of the Bull *In Cœna Domini*, and of the *Index Expurgatorius* supporting it, into his dominions, thus warmly complains of these mischievous publications:—"of the inveterate evil of the clandestine and artful introduction of the Bull entitled *In Cœna Domini*, which was null and void in its very nature, with respect to all that regards the *temporalities* of the principal sovereigns, and of their subjects, in matters notoriously foreign to *sacerdotal* inspection, but inseparably inherent in the supreme *secular* jurisdiction of the empire;—and

also of the subsequent introduction of the *Indices Expurgatorii*, which, by manifest fraud and irremediable nullity, were published in *Lisbon*, by evident collusion, and a notorious abuse of the absence of the Courts at that time in *Madrid*, without the previous *Regio Beneplacito*, which was indispensably necessary to give currency to these Bulls, supported by the *Indices* aforesaid,—whereby the crafty promulgators deluded and harassed the people, the Clergy, and even the monarchy itself. By such stratagems, they many times shook the crown of *Portugal*, demolished no less than three times the royal throne itself; and injured and oppressed most atrociously, not only the most respectable tribunals, and the chief magistrates of this capital and of the kingdom, but also the whole community of the *Portuguese* nation;—whose honours, lives, and properties have now for upwards of a century been sacrificed by the aforesaid fraudulent introduction of the said Bull, intitled *In Cœna Domini*, and the succeeding *Indices Expurgatorii*, invented to support it." See the original Report, &c. pp. 376—381, 385.

The declaration of the Prince Regent of *Portugal*, from *Rio Janeiro*, communicated by the Marquis D'Aguillar, against the revival of the order of the *Jesuits* in his dominions, and addressed to the *Portugueze* minister at Rome, April 1, 1815,

thus freely censures the present Pope, for his inconsistent and underhand dealing:

" His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, having taken under his consideration the intentions of Pope *Pius* VII., as published in his bull *Solicitudo omnium*,* dated August 7, 1814, by which his Holiness has thought proper to revive the *Society of Jesus*, which was extinct, thereby *derogating* (so far as the *authority* of the Church is concerned) from the other Bull, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster* of *Clement* XIV., of glorious memory, July 21, 1773: His Royal Highness is surprised at this determination of his Holiness, *this Court never having been informed of it in any way before*, although it has had most reason to complain of the Officers of the *Society of Jesus;* against which Portugal has proceeded in the most energetic manner, by the Ordinance *Alvara*, of September 3, 1759.

" The positive instructions of his Royal Highness being to maintain, in their utmost rigour, the dispositions of the above ordinance, (whatever may be the determination of *the other crowned heads* who associated for the extinction of the said Society)

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* These two Bulls for the suppression and restoration of the Order of the Jesuits, are given at full length, in the *Report*, &c. the former, pp. 406—422; the latter, pp. 422—426.

my august Master commands me to communicate his resolution to you, in order that you may immediately present a Note [to the Court of *Rome*] declaratory of the *invariable principles* which his Royal Highness intends to maintain; and conformably to which he enjoins your Lordship to admit *no negociation*, either *verbal* or written, on this subject.

"His Royal Highness has commanded me to write upon these principles to the *Apostolic Nuncio;* and, by a Circular addressed to his Ministers residing in the *Courts of Europe*, they are ordered to make a similar declaration, in order to prevent *every indirect overture* that may be attempted to be made on this subject."

(Signed) MARQUIS D'AGUILLAR.

Jose Manuel Pinto, Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of *Rome*.

Report, &c. p. 381.

GERMANY.

Under this head I shall begin with the first article of the Report.

AUSTRIA, *including* BOHEMIA *and* HUNGARY.

In *Austria* and *Hungary*, the Emperor has the sole right of nominating and appointing the Archbishops and Bishops, both of the *Latin* and *Greek*

Churches; and also the *titular* Bishops and Prelates for those Chapters and Monasteries in the *Turkish* dominions, which once formed a part of the Imperial dominions. The Archbishop of *Olmutz* forms the single exception; the right of choosing him being vested entirely in the Chapter of that See. The *Austrian* laws declare, that Bishops hold their power, as well in respect to orders as to jurisdiction, directly from God,"—although they do not usually exercise their functions until after consecration. Report, &c. pp. 5, 101.

It is positively enjoined by the *Austrian* law, that the Episcopal Oath, at consecration, shall neither be given nor taken, in any other than its original and proper sense, of mere *canonical* obedience to the Pope; in no wise infringing upon the rights of the Emperor, or the duties of his subjects: to observe which the Bishops, after their nomination, and before their pontifical oath, are obliged to take a special oath of allegiance and fidelity to their sovereign, according to the form prescribed by the Imperial decree of Sept. 16, 1782, in imitation of the *Gallican* Church. Report, p. 96.

" I, &c. do swear by the most holy and sacred name of God, and promise to his Majesty the Emperor my sovereign, and his legitimate successors, to be subject and faithful to him all the time of my life; to promote, to the utmost of my power, the good of the state and that of his ser-

vice; and not to have any share in any union, enterprise, or counsel, that might be prejudicial to either. On the contrary, if any thing of such a nature should come to my knowledge, I bind myself immediately to acquaint his Majesty therewith. So help me God, and the Holy Gospels, which I have just now touched." Report, p. 143.

THE CONGRESS OF EMBS.

The four Metropolitan Archbishops of *Germany*, the Ecclesiastical Electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, and the Prince Archbishop of *Saltzburgh*, who all exercise *temporal* sovereignty in their respective states, complained to the Emperor in his capacity of *Supreme Advocate and Protector of the Roman Empire*, of sundry usurpations of the Court of Rome, particularly of the undue interference of the tribunals of the Roman *Nunciatures*, with the *Ecclesiastical* jurisdiction of the Church of *Germany*; of the frequent *appeals* to *Rome;* of the hardships suffered by the Bishops of *Germany*, not only from the incredible sums of money sent by them to Rome, for *Annates*, and *Pall-money*, but from the debts contracted thereby, and accumulated in many Bishopricks, &c.

Their memorials were addressed to the Emperor *Joseph* II., in 1784 and 1785; and on October 12, 1785, he wrote a gracious letter to the four Archbishops, declaring, that in his character of *Head of the Empire*, he was determined to main-

tain their metropolitan and diocesan rights against all attacks or encroachments of the Papal Court and its Nuncios. And accordingly, he then issued an edict, suppressing the tribunals of the Nuncios, and interdicting the exercise of all jurisdiction on their part, that could interfere with the authority of the Ordinaries.

In consequence of these proceedings, a Congress was held at the Baths of Embs, Aug. 26, 1786, by the four Archbishops; in which twenty-three Articles of Regulation were drawn up and ratified, recognising the *independence* of the Church of *Germany*, and vindicating its *ancient discipline* from the encroachments and usurpations of the Court of *Rome*.

In these Articles the leading points are the following:—

1. That the oaths required of Bishops at their consecration, devised by Pope *Gregory* VII. and inserted in the *Decretals* by Pope *Gregory* IX. (which *Decretals* were fabricated about the middle of the ninth century, and falsely attributed to *Isidore)* ought to be no longer taken; because they enforce the duties belonging to a *vassal*, rather than *canonical* obedience; whereby the *German* Bishops actually bind themselves to what they cannot possibly observe as members of the Empire.

2. That no *Bulls*, *Briefs*, or *Ordinances* of the Pope shall be binding on the Bishops, unless they signify their formal assent.

3. That all matters of *Ecclesiastical* jurisdiction, according to the primitive usage of the German Church, shall be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court of each particular diocese; with right of appeal from the Bishops to the Metropolitan Court: and that the Papal *Nuncio* shall not interfere in any cause, whether depending in an inferior or superior court.

4. That all *Nunciatures* shall cease totally. Nuncios are to be received only in the character of *Envoys* from the Pope, pursuant to the declaration issued by his Imperial Majesty, October 12, 1785, founded upon the primitive ordinances of the Church, as well as upon the fundamental laws of the Empire.

5. That the *Concordates* agreed upon between the See of Rome and the German nation, in the Diets of *Nuremberg*, *Freyburg*, *Worms*, *Augsburg*, &c. have been infringed by the Popes, in a variety of ways. That in the latter Concordate of *Aschaffenburg* (which was extremely prejudicial to the interests of the German Church) its provisions were only temporary; as appears from the following clause, which frequently occurs:— "Except and unless this provision shall be rescinded at some future General Council, with the concurrence of the German nation."

6. The Congress, therefore, implore his Imperial Majesty, if nothing can be effected by his amicable interposition with the Court of Rome,

that he would vouchsafe to take the steps necessary for summoning a *General Council*, since that of *Trent* had disappointed the expectation of Reform; or, if this, from a variety of causes, appears to be impracticable, they recommend a *National Convention* of the German Prelates; or if this fail, from the expected opposition of the Court of Rome; a *Diet*, like that of *Augsburg*, in 1548, held by the authority of *Charles* V.—*Report*, &c. pp. 10, 12, 133, 146—156.

BADEN.

A curious and interesting *Correspondence* between the Courts of *Rome* and of *Baden*, in the year 1817, respecting the appointment of Baron *Wessenberg*, to be Vicar Capitular of the vacant diocese of *Constance*, which was rejected by Pope *Pius* VII., has engaged and engrossed public attention in *Germany*. It has been translated into English, from the original Latin and German documents, and lately published by *Ackermann*, 101, Strand, London, 1819, in a thin octavo; and as it forms a valuable *Supplement* to the *Report* of the *Committee of the House of Commons*, on the Ecclesiastical Regulations of the *German* States, I will here introduce an *abridgment* of the Correspondence, referring the reader for fuller information to the work itself: than which, nothing is better calculated to exhibit, in genuine colours, the

obstinate aversion and opposition of the Court of *Rome* to any measures of *Reform* in the Roman Catholic Church, however moderate, or expedient; and the pertinacious vigilance and systematic views of the present hoary Pontiff, to promote, directly or indirectly, the unlimited extension of the *Papal power* over *temporal Sovereigns*, as well as *Ecclesiastical Dignitaries.*

Baron *Ignatius Henry von Wessenberg*, a Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Constance*, has been for many years Vicar General of the diocese, under the Prince Primate *Charles Theodore von Dolberg*, Grand Duke of *Frankfort*, Archbishop of *Ratisbon*, and Bishop of *Constance;* and with his consent and approbation, introduced sundry regulations and ordinances into the administration of the diocese of *Constance*, which were universally commended by the wise and good, and gained him the esteem and confidence of his own Prince the Duke of *Baden*, and of the sovereigns of Germany. His piety is without superstition, his moral principles of the purest kind, his charity without ostentation, his benevolence universal, and his zeal and activity to promote the glory of God and the public good unparalleled. *Wessenberg*, like *Luther*, is resolute and undaunted in his temperate reform, without his impetuosity or violence;—*Wessenberg*, like *Luther*, has many followers, and supporters of the highest rank; and both Roman Catholics and

Protestants are unanimous in their wishes for his success in the present contest with the Court of Rome.

The following is a sketch of the chief regulations and provisions introduced during his vicariate in the extensive diocese of *Constance.*

1. *Diminution of the number of holy days.*—This was designed to remove the incentives to idleness, extravagance, and vice, by the excessive number of festivals required to be kept holy by the Church of *Rome.*

Retaining all the *Sundays* in the year for divine service, religious instruction, and abstinence from secular employments, — he admitted only the following festivals to be kept holy, abolishing the rest.

1. The *Circumcision*, or New Year's Day; — 2. The *Epiphany*, or Twelfth Day; — 3. The *Purification* of the Virgin *Mary;* — 4. St. *Joseph*'s Day; — 5. The *Annunciation* of the Blessed Virgin; — 6. *Easter* Monday; — 7. The *Ascension;* — 8. *Pentecost;* — 9. *Corpus Christi;* — 10. St. *Peter* and *Paul;* — 11. *Assumption;* — 12. *Birth of Mary;* — 13. *All Saints;* — 14. *Conception of Mary;* — 15. *Christmas* Day; — 16. St. *Stephen*'s; — and lastly, 17. The peculiar festival of the Patron, or Protecting Saint, in every parish church.

2. *Dispensations from fasts on the eves of the festivals* abolished. In the stead of which, all

the *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* in *Advent* were to be observed as fast days.

3. *Allowance to eat flesh meat on all the Saturdays* of the year, except Saturday in *Passion Week.*

4. *Dispensations to the Religious Orders from the vow of celibacy,* in urgent cases.

5. *Promise of marriage not to be binding,* except solemnly made before marriage, in the presence of the lawful pastor, and two witnesses at least. To be followed by the publication of banns three separate times; and the celebration never to take place on the day of the promise of marriage, except in special cases, with the licence of the Episcopal Commissariat.

6. *Marriages of minors not permitted, without the previous consent of their parents or guardians.* Males under twenty, and females under eighteen, reckoned minors.

In case both parties, or one only, are *minors,* the promise of marriage shall not be deemed binding, until a period of eight days for consideration shall have elapsed; within which period, either of the parties may recede. All these *legal* forms and impediments were humanely designed, to prevent precipitancy, law-suits, &c. detrimental to domestic happiness and public morals.

7. *Administration of Baptism in private houses* permitted, and even recommended, when new-born infants were either weakly, or at a great dis-

tance from the church; or in winter, during the severity of the weather. And the baptismal cold water, in such cases, recommended to be mixed with warm; and not to be poured in great quantity, nor far from the head of the infants, in order not to injure or shock their delicate frame. *Baptismal suppers* and *extra fees* to the officiating priest prohibited in such cases.

8. *Lay Baptism*, by midwives, or other persons, permitted, in emergency, when infants are born dangerously ill, or become so, after their birth.

9. *Seminaries for the Education of the secular, or parochial Clergy*, in which they shall be instructed, not only in the course of *Theology*, but also in the practical duties of the *Pastoral care:* and after a year's residence, at least, in such seminaries, to be examined as to their proficiency, previous to their admission to Holy Orders.

10. *Provisions* for the payment of the salaries of *Professors*, and of the stipends of the *Clergy*, according to a new distribution of the benefices of the diocese.

11. *Asylums* for *superannuated Professors and Clergy*, if meritorious.

12. *An improved Ritual for the diocese of Constance*, in which were introduced additional *prayers* in the mother tongue, at the celebration of the Sacraments, to render them more edifying and impressive; and select *hymns and popular*

melodies, to render the public service more engaging.

Such were the pious, benevolent, and judicious regulations, which gained the approbation of the wise and good, throughout the diocese of Constance, and all Germany; but which, unhappily, incurred the displeasure of his Holiness, and the Court of Rome, and only tended to draw down their censure and persecution upon the author and adviser!

I. The first expression of the Papal displeasure, was a brief, November 2, 1814, addressed to the Prince Primate, or Bishop of *Constance*, requiring him to dismiss *Wessenberg* from the office of Vicar General, in the following haughty terms:—— "Above all things, according to our supreme authority, and in virtue of your holy obedience, we command, that without any delay, you do dismiss from the office of Vicar General of the Church of *Constance* (the administration of which was committed to you by our special favour) *that infamous Wessenberg*; * of whose perverse doctrines, worse examples, and rash strivings against the commands of the Apostolic See, information has been brought to us, and proved by most certain documents, insomuch that we can no longer *tolerate* him without great offence to the faithful, and without injury to our own conscience."——

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* *Famosum illum Wessenberg.*

This mandate had no weight with the Prince Primate. In his answer, he thus vindicates the character of his Vicar General from the Pope's vague and general charge:—

—— "The Canon of *Wessenberg*, by promoting a more perfect style of *sacred music*, and introducing new and more sublime *forms of prayers*, and maintaining them with undaunted and persevering zeal, *excited the odium and scandal of the weak-minded.** Meanwhile it cannot be denied, that both by *pastoral practice* and *theological study*, by his *own example* and *indefatigable labour*, he has excited a spirit of information, zeal, and piety in a great number of the priesthood; he is a man commendable to all for his genius, piety, and integrity of life. The aforesaid Canon enjoys the best repute among all the learned, and the nobles, in Germany. Hence, I most humbly supplicate your Holiness, wish not to condemn him unheard; let his honour and his life advance with equal pace. "*Hear also the other side.*"

As an additional mark of esteem and confidence, shortly after, in 1815, the Prince Primate, when oppressed with age and infirmities, appointed *Wessenberg*, his *coadjutor* also; which dignified station he held till the demise of his patron, February 10, 1817, during which time the Court of

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* *Odium et scandalum pusillorum excitavit.*

Rome kept a profound silence respecting this new appointment.

On the Prince Primate's death, the Chapter of *Constance*, *Feb.* 19, 1817, elected *Wessenberg* Vicar Capitular of the diocese of *Constance;* and appointed Dr. *Reiniger* his assistant; and addressed a Letter to the Pope, requesting his Holiness's confirmation of their election.

This procedure of the Chapter was unnecessary, because the papal approbation is not required for a *Vicar Capitular*, though it is for a *Bishop;* and it was officious, because it was done without consulting their sovereign the Duke of *Baden*, though he approved of their choice; and it was irregular, because the election by Chapter was abolished by sect. 62. of the Recess of a Deputation of the Empire, to frame the New *German* Constitution of 1803, as remarked by the Duke in his *Memorial*, p. 21.

Their application, however, produced a severe reprimand from his Holiness, in his Brief to the Chapter of *March* 15, 1817: in which he censured them for contempt of his Brief to the Prince Primate, *Nov.* 2, 1814, requiring the dismissal of *Wessenberg* from the office of Vicar General; and now commanding them, *in virtue of the Apostolical authority intrusted to him by God*, for the good of the whole Church, to set aside the election of *Wessenberg*, as still more unfit to fill the important office of Vicar Capitular; and informing

them, that none of the *spiritual* tribunals should pay the smallest attention to any writings issued by *Wessenberg*, or his representative *Reiniger*, page 1.

To this the Chapter replied, in their Letter, *May* 3, 1817, pleading ignorance of the Brief of *Nov.* 2, 1814, which the Prince Primate never had communicated to them, nor to *Wessenberg;* and thus maintaining with firmness the qualifications of their Vicar Capitular:—

"We were entirely persuaded most firmly, that we acted in strict conformity to the intention of the Council of *Trent*, for the administration of this diocese, when deprived of its ordinary President, and as the true good of the diocese required. Nor were we led by any other reason to elect our colleague, *Ignatius Henry Von Wessenberg*, Vicar Capitular, than our own knowledge and experience, and that of all the Clergy of this diocese, during the whole course of his residence among us intimately for *twenty* years; that he acted always with approved integrity of life and morals, was perfectly versed in the ecclesiastical sciences; and that he exercised the office of Vicar General for *fifteen* years back, until our Bishop's decease, with the highest approbation and the best example; and with the reputation of distinguished merit suitable to his dignity. And, further, that he had acquired the good-will of the sovereign Princes of Germany, and a singular

confidence in his manner of transacting ecclesiastical business, which is most necessary, especially at this critical juncture.

"A doubt, therefore, could not occur to us, that the *provisional* administration of the diocese could not be consigned by us to any one more safely or more suitably, than to our colleague aforesaid, adorned with such endowments and deserts: and this election of ours obtained the full approbation of the *Civil Government.*"

Not satisfied with this explanation, his Holiness addressed a Brief to the Grand Duke of *Baden, May* 21, p. 1817, complaining of the conduct of the late Prince Primate, for refusing to dismiss *Wessenberg* from the office of Vicar General, in obedience to his Brief of *Nov.* 2, 1814, complaining also of the Chapter of *Constance* for electing him Vicar Capitular, and paying no attention to his Brief of last *March* 18, 1817, requiring them to reject him, and to chuse another *pious* and *fit* successor; and calling upon his Royal Highness to support the steps he had taken, and to empower the Chapter to chuse another Vicar Capitular; concluding with these reasons for his rejection: — 1. "What respect can be entertained by *Believers* for a man whom *all the good abhor, and hold in contempt;* and 2. Of whom they know, by certain and undoubted proofs, that *he does not possess our approbation:* and 3. So far from the *public tranquillity* finding any support in him, there is much

more reason to apprehend, that the *defending his cause may alienate, and even irritate the minds of the Catholics;* and may consequently be attended with *the interruption of peace and good order.*" pp. 2—5.

But his Royal Highness rejected the Pope's application; and in answer thereto, *June* 16, 1817, thus vindicated the conduct of *Wessenberg* :—

——— "Nothing more unpleasant and more unexpected could have occurred to us, than to learn that your Holiness, by an Apostolical Brief to the Chapter of Constance, *issued without our knowledge,* and presented to us at a much later period, should have rejected, in so contumelious a manner, as an improper person, a man whom, from the esteem in which he is held by *all good and well-disposed individuals,* we conceive to have deserved so highly of the *Catholic Church.*

"We can therefore only account for the injury thus done to *Ignatius Henry Von Wessenberg,* by supposing that it originated in the envy of the undeserving. The love of justice, and of order, inherent in your Holiness, will afford him proper reparation.

"In the mean time, we must observe, that when the first Brief (*March* 15, 1817) came to our knowledge, it occasioned us very much pain. And as we deem ourselves authorized, and even bound to secure the observance of the *Old Concordats,* and to afford protection to an *innocent man,*

condemned without trial,—we feel ourselves called upon to *oppose* the execution of the Apostolic Brief in question, by all the means in our power: and in this resolution we shall persist, until it can be proved before a *competent tribunal,* and in the way and mode prescribed by the said Concordats, that there are *Canonical impediments* to the election of *Henry Von Wessenberg:* for, from all that is known of him to us, and to our temporal and spiritual authorities hitherto, even the most rigorous judicial investigation of his life, and the way in which he has discharged his duties, will have no other effect than to establish his innocence and rectitude in the most complete and satisfactory manner; and to recommend him to the favour of your Holiness." pp. 6, 7.

Wessenberg now proposed, and with the approbation of his Sovereign, to go to Rome in person, "to mark his filial submission to the Supreme Head of the Church, and to offer explanations of the charges brought against him to his Holiness." And accordingly, the Duke of *Baden*'s Minister for Foreign Affairs wrote to Cardinal *Gonsalvi,* the Pope's Secretary of State, *June* 25, 1817, informing him of the Baron *Wessenberg*'s intention "to throw himself at the feet of his Holiness, in order to afford such personal explanations as the Holy Father might demand, in order to convince him of the unobjectionable nature of his sentiments, and of their conformity to the principles of

the Catholic religion; and requesting, on the part of his Royal Highness, that his Eminency would give the Baron a favourable reception himself, and procure it for him from the Pope likewise. pp. 8, 9.

Wessenberg, after this, set out on his journey, and reached *Rome*, *July* 18, 1817. There he was kept in attendance for seven weeks, without being admitted to an audience of his Holiness; and, at length, *Sept.* 2, 1817, he received a prolix Note from Cardinal *Gonsalvi*, pp. 9—27, stating the Charges urged against him.

The Charges were of two descriptions, respecting *Erroneous Doctrines* and *Sentiments* imputed to him; and *Mal-administration* of the Diocese of *Constance*, during his Vicariate.

To these specific Charges he made a distinct and circumstantial Defence, in his Answer, *Sept.* 12, 1817, pp. 28—46.*

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* *Abstract of the leading Charges made against Wessenberg; and his Defence:—*

1. *C.* Contempt of the Papal Brief of Nov. 2, 1814, to the late Prince Primate, in not resigning his office of Vicar General.

D. That Brief was never communicated to *Wessenberg*, nor to the Chapter of *Constance*, by the deceased Bishop.

2. *C.* Contempt of the Brief of March 15, 1817, to the Chapter of *Constance*, in not resigning the office of Vicar Capitular.

D. Could not resign it without compromising the interests of the Chapter, and of the Sovereign who concurred in his

A second Note from Cardinal *Gonsalvi*, dated *Oct.* 16, 1817, declared his Defence unsatisfactory

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election; but, to shew his deference, he abstained from the personal exercise of his office.

3. *C.* His Ordinance respecting *Promises of Marriage*, not to be binding without the previous consent of parents and guardians, &c. Dec. 10, 1804.

D. This Ordinance was *Episcopal*, and of long standing, in the time of the foregoing Bishop *Max. Christoph.* related only to *promises of marriage*, not to *Marriage* itself; and was renewed, to prevent precipitancy, fraud, and law-suits, &c. attending Promises of Marriage made without the necessary solemnities, and without witnesses.

4. *C.* The Ordinance relating to *Mixed Marriages* between Catholics and Protestants, Dec. 3, 1805.

D. Such Marriages allowed in all countries in which the Protestants enjoy the same civil and political rights as the Catholics.

5. *C.* The Ordinance respecting the administration of *Baptism* in *private houses*, Aug. 20, 1806.

D. This Ordinance *Episcopal*, and founded on its necessity, in case of danger.

6. *C.* Justification of Professor *Dereser*, against the Brief of Pope *Pius* VI. to the Archbishop of *Cologne*, condemning the doctrines taught by him.

D. The Vicariate of *Constance* did not conceive this Brief to be a final judgment, but merely a call on the Archbishop to enquire into the Charges, which after the strictest investigation at *Constance*, and also at *Aschaffenburg*, were found to be groundless.

7. *C.* Justification of *Hekelsmuller*, Vicar of *Grizenbach*, deposed on a charge of preaching scandalous doctrine, that the *adoration of Saints* is erroneous; that *pilgrimages* should be abolished, &c. by the temporal government of *Soleure*.

to the Pope and his Council, and urged implicit obedience to the Pope's Briefs, pp. 46—55.

D. The temporal government had no right to interfere in the first instance. The Vicar having appealed against their sentence, their proceedings were found to be irregular; and after a close investigation, the accused Vicar was acquitted of the charges by the Vicariate of *Constance.*

8. *C.* Offensive questions proposed for a competitory probation at *Constance, May* 5, 1806.

An Pontificatus ab Episcopatu Romano avelli queat?

An is, salvo ecclesiæ systemate, commutari queat in patriarchatum?

" Whether the *Pontificate* can be rent from the *Roman Episcopate?*

" Whether it can be changed, *saving the Constitution of the Church,* into a *Patriarchate?*

D. These questions, not published by the Vicariate,—were only intended to ensure the adoption of Doctrines truly Catholic, and conformable to the principles of the Church respecting the supremacy of the Holy See. If answered improperly (which however was not the case), the disputants would have been corrected, and subjected to a new probation.

9. *C.* Several *improper books,* composed, approved of, or adopted by the Vicar General.

D. Denies the fact. If they contained errors, he was very far from approving them.

10. *C.* *Diminution of the number of Festivals* prescribed by the Church.

D. Originated with the Bishop himself, in compliance with the urgent desires of the Sovereigns, and in virtue of the Bull of his Holiness *Clement* XIV.

11. *C.* Permission to eat *flesh meat* on *Saturdays,* in opposition to his Holiness's Brief of *Feb.* 4, 1809.

This produced a second Answer from *Wessenberg*, *Nov.* 18, 1817; in which are the following

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D. Required by the *Austrians*, and their Sovereigns, on account of the high price of the food suited to festivals, and granted by the predecessor of the Prince Primate; the Prince Primate requested to enter into a correspondence with the Sovereigns, and then to return a respectful answer to his Holiness's Brief.

12. *C.* Agreement in Spirituals, between the Prince Bishop of *Constance* and the Government of *Lucerne, May* 25, 1807, respecting *Ecclesiastical Seminaries*, *Asylums*, and care of *Superannuated Pastors*, Provision for *Professors*, &c. *Equalization of parishes*, &c. as concerted by *Wessenberg*, and carried by his influence with the Bishop.

D. Acted in obedience to his Bishop's instructions, and from no other motive than the desire of serving the Church.

13. *C.* All writs from *Rome* to be deprived of effect, until approved by the *Bishop*'s Court.

D. This measure a confirmation of the old practice of the Diocese, designed merely to prevent abuses of the authority of the Holy See.

14. *C.* Prevention of the Clergy of *Constance* from obtaining absolutions, and other writs from the Court of *Rome*.

D. They were never prohibited, but only required to make their applications through the organ of the Vicariate.

15. *C.* Invasion of the privileges and exemptions of regulars, and dispensations from the vow of continence.

D. These reserved cases for the Bishop granted only in smaller numbers, *sede impedita;* while access to the Holy See was obstructed.

16. *C.* Introduction of the mother tongue, and other scandalous abuses into the Liturgy, under pretence of zeal for the old discipline of the Church.

passages :—" After dedicating, with disinterestedness, a long series of years to the service of the

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D. No alteration made in the Liturgy itself. The additional prayers and exhortations in the mother tongue, only designed to render the administrations of the Sacrament more instructive and edifying.

17. *C.* That he was a member of the *Free Masons;* and associated with five worthless Clergymen, to banish every idea of the *divinity of Jesus Christ* from *Germany.*

D. Rejects such base calumnies with disdain, and rests on the dignity of his character, to bear him out against them.

18. *C.* That *all good Catholics* of *Germany* have for many years exclaimed loudly against him ; and that even now, while he is at Rome, very grave accusations pour in from thence respecting his *principles,* and *conspiracy* against the *centre of Catholic Union.*

D. To this he replies in the following animated strain :— " Are then the number of *Catholics* in Germany, *of all ranks,* who honour me with their esteem, and particularly the *numerous Clergymen* who are attached to me, not *good Catholics?* Forgive me, my Lord, this deduction : Your Eminency is too just and enlightened, not to see that it was possible for *informers,* who shun the open day, to succeed in darkening for a time the opinion of his Holiness with respect to my person ; but that it is a singular piece of *arrogance* in them, to imagine that *they* constitute the *public opinion in Germany.* Every man, conspicuous from his station, his talents, or even his merits, is subject to the tribunal of public opinion. I have never had cause to dread it. My conduct will serve me as a shield against the charge or suspicion of participating in any *conspiracy* against *the centre of unity of the Catholic Church.* I have at all times avowed the *principles* which are taught by the Church herself. Besides, the charge of being at the head

Church, it could not fail to be painful for me to learn, that I had incurred the disgrace of the

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of a conspiracy against the central point of Catholic unity, cannot reach me, without recoiling on the *Clergymen* who have uniformly given me proofs of the most perfect attachment. But these Clergymen, who are altogether deserving of the highest eulogium, on account of their information and their zeal, have always accounted it their glory, to honour in his Holiness, the *Successor of St. Peter,* and *the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth;* and by their labours to propagate the doctrine of the Church, respecting the supremacy of honour and jurisdiction of the Holy See. What can I oppose to my *calumniators* but my *conscience,* my *conduct,* and the *Clergymen* who know me?"

In answer to this, the Cardinal, in his Second Note, objects:—

" Monsignor *Dolberg,* the Prince Primate himself, did not possess sufficient resolution to acquit you of this Charge. This Prelate, in his answer to the Holy Father, on the subject in question, expressed himself with respect to you thus: " *The people are commonly averse to recent innovations in the forms of religious worship;* and while he pointed you out as the author, added, The Canon *Wessenberg,* by his intrepid and constant zeal, excited *odium and scandal.*" P. 53.

Here is a shameful mutilation and perversion of evidence: The Prince Primate added, *pusillorum,* " *of the weak-minded,*" confining " *the odium and scandal*" to such as we have seen. By dropping this word, his praise is converted into censure. As the Letter to his Holiness was private, the Cardinal thought he might escape detection. Fortunately, a draught of it was found among his papers after his death.

Vane LIGUR!

Nequicquam PATRIAS *tentasti lubricus* ARTES.

" Wily *Italian!* vainly, to no purpose,
Hast thou attempted the *Papal arts.*"

common Father of believers. This feeling, however, shall only give additional strength to my honest zeal, to merit his approbation, by a conduct conformable to *the spirit of the Gospel* and *of the Church*.

" I have appropriate duties toward the Chapter and the Clergy of the Diocese, I have similar duties toward my territorial Sovereign, and I bear general duties toward *Germany*. They ought to be the more inviolable with me, from the consideration, that, in every respect, they are in unison with my duties toward the Church and her Head." p. *56*.

A third Note from Cardinal *Gonsalvi*, *Dec.* 11, 1817, rejects the foregoing plea, as giving his particular duties a preference over his paramount duties to the Church, and its supreme Head; and requiring him to evince his submission to the Brief of *March* 15, 1817; by resigning the Capitular Vicariate, repenting of his opposition to the doctrines and commands of the Church, with a promise of reforming his conduct in future. pp. *57* to *59*.

This produced a third and final Answer, *Dec.* 16, 1817, stating his resolution to adhere to the duties stated in his former letter, to leave *Rome* directly, and refer the result of the business to the consideration of his Sovereign; at the same time expressing his readiness to make any personal sacrifice on his part that might facilitate the adjust-

ment of the business, to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned. " I shall esteem it," said he, " honourable to me, before *God* and man, to offer such a sacrifice to the Church, to my Country, and to the Holy Father. I have it infinitely at heart to convince his Holiness of the purity and rectitude of my character." pp. 59—61.

Pending this fruitless negociation of five months at *Rome*, the cause of *Wessenberg* was warmly espoused by the several Chapters of the parochial Clergy in that part of the Diocese of *Constance* belonging to *Baden*. A Letter, signed by their heads, *Oct.* 3, 1817, was sent to him at *Rome*, vindicating him especially from the Papal charges, that his conduct was unpopular, and his promotion to the Bishoprick would tend to disturb the public peace and tranquillity. They deny both, in the following terms:—" We assure you, that the common people, with whom we live and converse daily, and therefore know better than all the enemies of your Excellency, do not, nor ever did, entertain that malice towards you, with which they are charged by the malevolent; and that they are altogether free from any desire of intermeddling in Ecclesiastical affairs that do not concern them. While the better sort, possessed of greater mental endowments, and more capable of distinguishing good from evil, truth from falsehood, to whom your zeal, endowments, works, and way of life are known, hold you in the highest veneration;

and would be afflicted with no less grief than ourselves, should they hear that such a man as you, celebrated for the most exquisite doctrine in all *Germany*, nay, celebrated for your writings and actions throughout all *Europe* almost, acknowledged as the Father of those placed under his charge, the Benefactor of the poor, and the Promoter of every thing that is good, should be excluded from the Episcopal Dignity; a man from whom all civil as well as ecclesiastical benefits were to be expected. pp. 203—211.

This was followed up by another most honourable testimony to his public and private worth, in a Declaration of the Clergy of the several Chapters of the Principalities of *Hohenzollern*, *Hechingen*, and *Sigmaringen*, parts of the Diocese of *Constance* in *Swabia*, *March* 5, 1818. pp. 211 to 215.

And, to crown all, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Baden* himself published a dignified *Memorial*, *May* 17, 1818, recapitulating the heads of this mass of evidence, and declaring his decided resolution to support the Baron *Wessenberg* in his office of Vicar General, against the mandates of the Court of *Rome;* and considering the particular case of the Diocese of *Constance*, as a general ecclesiastical concern of the *German* nation; and the conduct of the Court of *Rome* on this occasion as evincing a system of encroachment upon the rights and liberties of the *German* Church, he

felt himself compelled, as a *preliminary measure*, to lay the whole correspondence before the high Federal Assembly of the Diet at *Frankfort*. p. xix to xxx.

11. Another flagrant instance of Papal aggression on the rights and jurisdiction of the venerable and extensive Diocese of *Constance*, is noticed in this Correspondence.

In the beginning of *January*, 1815, the Apostolical Nuncio in *Switzerland* addressed an Edict "to the Abbots, Provosts, Deans, and other Ecclesiastics in that part of *Switzerland*, included within the Diocese of *Constance*, informing them that the whole of it had been separated by his Holiness the Pope, from the Diocese of *Constance*, for the most just and weighty reasons, by Apostolical Letters; and that *Bernard Goeldlin*, Priest and Provost of the *Berne* Collegiate Church in *Lucerne*, had been elected Apostolical Vicar, to whom alone the legitimate authority shall belong."

Roused by this arbitrary and clandestine invasion of their rights and privileges, the Chapter of *Constance* addressed a spirited remonstrance to his Holiness, *Feb.* 1, 1815, of which the following is an extract. pp. 93—101.

" Most Holy Father,

" We have been afflicted with great grief by the public Edict of the Apostolic Nuncio in *Switzerland*—which we learned, not from the Apostolic

Nunciature, but, we are sorry to say, from public report; and a few days after, the more melancholy news was communicated by our Bishop himself, that your Holiness had denounced to him, the actual separation of the Catholic Cantons of *Switzerland* from this Diocese, *by the plenitude of your Apostolical power:* the intelligence of which oppressed us with new uneasiness; the more grievous, because we are not conscious to ourselves of having committed *any crime* that could possibly draw down the indignation of your Holiness upon us; and still less are we able to conjecture what causes could have occurred to oppress with such great ruin the Diocese of *Constance*, distinguished above others for its antiquity and ample extent.

" The Apostolic Nunciature, indeed, does not specify in its edict the particular causes which have brought this calamity upon the Diocese; but it declares them to be 'such as should rather be lamented than recalled to remembrance.' Let these causes, altogether unknown to us, be what they may, they can by no means affect us who are pure from all offence. Let the guilty suffer; but let not the Diocese of *Constance*, flourishing upwards of 1200 years, suffer for the fault of others.

" Our conscience, tenacious of what is just and right, suggested to us by means of circular letters, from our mandatory *Anthony Reiniger*, Doctor of Theology and Pro-Vicar General, specially instructed by us for the purpose, addressed

to the Republic of the Swiss, and each of its Cantons, and the whole Clergy, January 31, 1815, to *protest* against this separation; and availing ourselves of the remedy of the *Common Law*, to *appeal to your Holiness*, as *ill informed*, and *requiring to be better informed.* *

"Our Bishop is said to have assented to the dismemberment of this diocese, but on certain conditions, and saving the consent of the parties interested. He ought, however, to have been aware that his opinion alone was not sufficient in a case of so much moment.

"Among those whose rights are prejudiced by this measure, the renowned *Helvetian* Republic justly claims the first place: which indeed had besought from your Holiness a proper Bishop of its own nation; but never entertained a wish, of which we are certain, that the rights of its venerable Mother Church and diocese of *Constance*, should be so precipitately laid prostrate, as if smitten with a thunderbolt, setting aside all cognizance of the cause, and that all sense of the gratitude due thereto should be extirpated: but how foreign this was from the intention of your Holiness, clearly appears from the tenor of your Apostolical Brief of October 7, 1814, addressed to the *Helvetian* Republic, in which your Holiness most graciously

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* Ad Sanctitatem vestram *male informatum, meliusque informandum* provocaremus.

approved of the most devoted prayers of the Cantons, and gave it in command to the Apostolical Nuncio, in the mean time, to make the proper preparations relative thereto.

"It was his duty, therefore, unquestionably, during the interval of those discussions, to have preserved the episcopal regimen of the diocese, untouched and inviolate, until all things were regulated, in a just and proper manner, according to the Sacred Canons; entering into consultation, not with the Bishop only, but with the Cathedral Chapter also, who both together constitute the Church of *Constance.* And this we know to have been the wish of the sounder part of the *Helvetic* Cantons. But it seems to have been the fixed determination of the Nuncio of *Lucerne,* rather to exceed the limits of the Apostolic Mandate, than to omit the opportunity offered to him of inflicting a mortal wound on this diocese, which he disliked without any approved cause, and to annihilate it as far as lay in his power."

And they conclude their admirable remonstrance, all written with the same spirit and temper, thus: —

"While we most humbly express these our sentiments to your Holiness, we only fulfil our duty and sworn fidelity; to furnish a document to posterity, that nothing was omitted on our part to preserve the integrity of the diocese; and that it did not depend on us that the separation of

Switzerland from this Bishopric was not prevented.

"Prostrate at the consecrated feet of your Holiness, with a fixed, and most devoted kiss, we most humbly supplicate your Apostolical Benediction.

"Your Holiness's most humble and
"most obedient servants,
"*The Senior and the Capitular Canons of the Catholic Church of Constance.*"

Feb. 1, 1815.

This spirited remonstrance appears to have embarrassed the Pope and his Council not a little. A year and half elapsed before any notice was taken of it. At length, determined not to retract, a haughty and imperious Papal Brief was sent to them, Sept. 7, 1816, thus censuring their conduct:—

——— "With great grief, we perused your Letter, full of complaints, in which you mentioned not only a *mandate* against that separation, transmitted by your order, to the said Cantons and their Clergy, but even a solemn act, by which you *appealed to us*, as *ill informed*, and *requiring to be better informed.*"

"Truly, we shuddered in perusing these acts, and inwardly grieved that you were so miserably carried away, that, forgetting the reverence due to us and to our prescriptions, you did not blush to

combat them publicly, and to declare null, void, and of no effect, the measures that were taken to carry them into execution. — In consequence of *such great contempt of the Apostolic See,* we are compelled to apply *the power granted to us by God;* lest we should be accused of acting contrary to the rule of the paternal sanctions of *St. Peter*, and of forsaking the cause of his See:— we therefore consigned to the consideration of some of our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Empire, the *Mandate* of the Pro-Vicar *Reininger*, dated Jan. 31, 1815;—and also the Act of *Appeal,* framed by him the same day, in your name. When, therefore, after mature examination, they were found to contain *propositions*, both in their obvious sense and in their tendency *respectively false, pernicious, hurtful to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and at least erroneous;* by the advice of these our venerable brethren, We do, *of our certain knowledge and Apostolical power*, condemn and reprobate them, and declare that they shall be for ever held as condemned and reprobated; and both them, and whatever thence shall in any way be appointed or done against our decrees, either at present, or in future, we decree *to be absolutely null, void, invalid, unjust, vain, and void of force and effect;* and as far as may be necessary, we do, by the same authority, rescind and annul all the aforesaid acts, and will them to be of no force.

"Moreover, to remove and punish the scandal by which you have done so great an injury to the Apostolic See, we should have recourse to the *remedies* proposed by the Sacred Canons, especially by the two constitutions of *John* xxii. the one beginning with *Salvator Noster*, the other with *Nuper;* but that paternal charity with which we incessantly embrace you, restrains us from applying the same; and at the same time inspires hope, that when you have seriously weighed the *heinousness* of your misdeeds, ye may *repent*, and by a prompt, ingenuous, salutary reformation, retract your *mandate* and *appeal*."

This *brutum fulmen* having no effect on the hardened minds of the Chapter, His Holiness, as a last effort, endeavoured to prevail on the Duke of *Baden* to sanction the separation, in his forementioned Letter of May 21, 1817, complaining of *Wessenberg;* which he sent by the Archbishop of *Chalcedon*, Apostolic Nuncio in *Switzerland.*

But his Serene Highness, in answer, June 16, 1817, objected to the separation, on the ground of the New Arrangements of *Germany*, settled by deputation, Feb. 25, 1803; alleging that the *Swiss* Commissioners had claimed, and actually obtained from those of *Baden*, Feb. 6, 1804, the sum of 300,000 florins, from the Revenue of the See of *Constance*, for endowing a Bishopric and Cathedral in the Swiss territories; but still subject to *Constance* as the Mother Church.

Such are the ill-judged and unavailing efforts of the present bigoted and pertinacious Pontiff to establish the pretended rights and ancient usurpations of the See of *Rome.* Though "fallen from her high estate," the Court of Rome still seems incapable of *moderation;* and, as judiciously remarked by the *Bavarian* Attorney-General, *Rudhart,* in an Introduction prefixed to the English Translation of the Correspondence, dated Aug. 1, 1818, "The spirit of the Papacy remains *unaltered* through a series of ages, in spite of the change manifested in the spirit of the times. It has, on the one hand, no longer the darkness of earlier centuries for ally; while, on the other, opponents of a different mettle are to be faced. Formerly the *Popes,* supported by the *People* and the *Clergy,* entered the list against *Sovereigns* only; now the *People* themselves, joined with their *Princes* and *Clergy,* form fearful odds; and these three, assailed by the Papal See, will, through the obstinacy of their opponents, in the end, feel induced and compelled to settle their Ecclesiastical concerns among themselves without *Roman* interference."—*Introduction,* p. 18.

SUIS ROMA IPSA VIRIBUS RUIT.

"Rome herself, by her own efforts,
Is falling to ruin."

In *Germany,* at least, the Reformation begun by *Luther,* is likely to be completed by *Wessen-*

berg.—All Germany is in expectation, awaiting in anxious suspense the issue of this contest.—"The fate of *Rome*, as an Ecclesiastical Power, is now suspended in the balance; perhaps at this moment, it is already determined, or secretly understood at least among the august members of the HOLY ALLIANCE, composed of the *three leading Christian persuasions.* They have, with the aid of Divine Providence, succeeded in hurling the *Political Tyrant* from his throne, and restoring the *Civil Liberties* of Europe. By crushing the arbitrary power of *Ecclesiastical usurpation*, likewise, and thereby effecting a re-union of the *whole Family of* CHRIST, they would raise to themselves the noblest and most durable monuments in the hearts of their subjects, and secure the blessings of grateful ages to come."—*Introduction*, p. 11.

ITALY.

THE MILANESE, AND AUSTRIAN LOMBARDY.

The Archbishop of *Milan* is in the sole appointment of the Crown. The Pope's nomination of the Emperor's subjects only, to the four Bishoprics of *Pavia, Cremona, Lodi,* and *Como,* has hitherto been attended to, in their presentation by the Crown; but the Bishops were required,

previous to their consecration, to take a special oath of allegiance to the Emperor.

The Collation to all Ecclesiastical Benefices, by virtue of *Papal Reservations*, was no longer admitted.

All *Bulls*, even those concerning *dogmatic* points, are to be submitted to the Royal inspection, so far as necessary to ascertain that they contained no improper article, but are purely dogmatical.

The *Monasteries* not suppressed, are rendered entirely independent of foreign jurisdiction; and their Generals to be nominated by the Archbishop of *Vienna.—Report*, pp. 168—171.

VENICE.

Before the *Venetian States* were annexed to the Crown of *Austria*, the Senate was vigilant to repel the encroachments of the See of *Rome*.

The two Patriarchs of *Venice* and *Aquileia* were chosen by the Senate; and neither of them were allowed to interfere in the collation of Ecclesiastical benefices.

On a vacancy occurring in any Episcopal See, the names of three Ecclesiastics were transmitted by the Senate to Rome, and the requisite Bull of

institution was sent by the Pope to *the first* on the list.

All Bulls from Rome were ordered to be sent to the Inquisitors of State, "without the seal being broken." And no brief, rescript, monitory, or general letter, of whatever nature it may be, to be executed, without the previous examination and licence of the College of Senators, under penalty of condign punishment, according to the quality of the offender, and the magnitude of the transgression.

The *Austrian* Code will now probably supersede that of the Republic. — *Report*, &c. pp. 172 — 176.

TUSCANY.

Of the Ecclesiastical Regulations of this State, the following are the principal: —

On a vacancy occurring in any Episcopal See, the *Tuscan* Government presents to the Pope the names of four individuals; recommending at the same time, by means of the *Minister at Rome*, the one more particularly designated to fill the vacancy; the other three being considered as objects of simple formality.—*Report*, pp. 181, 182.

With respect to the inferior Clergy, in all cases, whether of free nomination, or of Ecclesiastical patronage claimed by the Holy See, or the Chapter Collegiate or Cathedral, they are all required to

be appointed by the Bishops, upon exa mination of the fittest persons; notwithstanding any asserted or pretended reservations of the Roman Court.—*Report*, p. 16.

The regular Clergy are required to study theology from books permitted by the sovereign.—*Report*, p. 17.

An Edict was issued by the Secretary of State, in 1788, abolishing in all its extent, the tribunal of the Papal *Nuncio* in *Tuscany*, and all jurisdiction over the Clergy, both secular and regular; and ordering that he shall be considered merely as an *Ambassador from the Court of Rome*, on a par with any other foreign minister.—*Report*, p. 199.

It abolishes for ever all authority of *foreign* Generals, or Procurators General, over any convent or monastery of regulars; ordering all their spiritual concerns to be referred to the cognizance of the Bishops of *Tuscany*, and the secular to the Lay Tribunals.—*Report*, &c. p. 198.

NAPLES AND THE TWO SICILIES.

In *Naples* the nomination of Bishops is at present the subject of negociation between the *Papal* and *Neapolitan* Governments, instituted in 1816, in consequence of the revival of the Papal claims by the present ambitious Pontiff.—*Report*, &c. p. 18.

In *Sicily* the nomination to all Bishoprics is exclusively vested in the Crown. And the kings of *Sicily* enjoy, from the beginning, by grant of the Popes, the peculiar privilege of being *Legates by birth* of the Holy See, and have exercised their Legantine powers by a deputy, a native of *Sicily*, and an Ecclesiastic, who is a Doctor of Ecclesiastical and Civil Law; and to whom there is an appeal from the decisions of the Episcopal and Archiepiscopal Courts.

No bulls, however, briefs, licences, or decrees, of the Court of Rome, are permitted to be published and executed in both kingdoms, without the *regium exequatur*, or royal licence.

The Bull for the restoration of the Order of the *Jesuits*, has, indeed, been received in *Sicily*, where they have instituted a seminary of education; and we learn from the dispatch of Lord *William Bentinck*, Jan. 19, 1813, that this restless and active brotherhood had then procured *nineteen Elèves from the British Islands;* of whom *five have returned in holy orders; two died, and nine remain at Palermo.—Report*, &c. p. 200.

SARDINIA, PIEDMONT, AND SAVOY.

In these States the nomination of Bishoprics and the great Ecclesiastical benefices, is vested in the

Government—subject, however, to a *Veto* on the part of the Pontiff; which is considered as a mere formality, like the *Congé d'Elire*, or, *les brevets des premières prières*, issued by the kings of England, and emperors of Germany, to their respective Chapters.—*Report*, &c. pp. 249—254.

No Bull, or instrument from Rome, can have any operation in these States, without the sanction of the *regium exequatur*.

And so vigilant is the jealousy of the *Sardinian* Government to guard against the intrusion and dissemination of *Popish* principles, that the *Index Expurgatorius*, containing the list of books prohibited by the See of Rome, is itself prohibited in *Piedmont*.—*Report*, p. 254.

SWITZERLAND.

The appointment to Ecclesiastical livings and dignities is the exclusive right of the State. They cannot be conferred upon any foreigners.—*Report*, pp. 33, 395.

No Bull, Ordinance, Pastoral Letter, or any Act of the Ecclesiastical Authorities, can be published, or put in execution, without having previously obtained the *placet* of Government. P. 33.

The *Helvetic* Confederacy have always resisted the encroachments of the Papal authority. They

opposed the publication of the *Corpus juris Canonici*, and of all bulls and decretals, *in Cœna Domini*, &c. interfering with the temporal and sovereign authority of the State. And the Swiss Cantons in general have always resolutely withstood the interdicts and excommunications issued against them at various times by the Papal See. P. 35.

In 1426, when the Pope sent a special messenger to *Basil*, to publish his excommunication of the emperor *Louis*, the messenger was led to the highest spot of the city, and from thence precipitated into the Rhine, where he was drowned. P. 398.

RUSSIA.

The emperor of *Russia* nominates to all the Bishoprics in his dominions, upon the recommendation of the Ministry of Religious Worship, or the Consistory. But the Consistory neither has nor can have any connexion with the Court of *Rome;* for all cases of *Ecclesiastical Polity* are referred entirely to the Ministry of Religious Worship; and *judicial* cases are referred to the decision of the Senate.

At the installation of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of *Mohilow*, in 1783, he objected to take the usual consecration oath, on account of the persecuting clause, *Hæreticos persequar*, &c.; and his conduct was approved by the empress *Cathe-*

rine. Accordingly, the obnoxious clause was omitted, his Holiness not wishing to offend the Empress; and a new clause was added to the oath, concluding thus: —

"I will observe all and every one of these things the more inviolably, as I am firmly convinced that there is nothing contained in them which can be *contrary to the fidelity I owe to her Imperial Majesty, Catherine,* and *to her successors to the throne.* So help me God, and those holy Gospels of God. Thus I promise and engage."

This important emendation of the Consecration Oath in *Russia,* was noticed not long after, by Bishop *Woodward,* in his *Present State of the Church of Ireland,* in 1786, and warmly recommended to the adoption of the Romish Hierarchy in Ireland. Accordingly, they petitioned the Pope "to remove *misinterpretations* of the oath by Protestants," &c. And his Holiness was graciously pleased, at an audience, June 9, 1791, to grant, that the Irish Bishops, at their consecration, and Archbishops, on receiving the pall, *may use* the same form of oath which was taken by the Archbishop of *Mohilow.* This we learn from Doctor *Troy*'s Pastoral Letter, cited in the *Report,* &c. pp. 426—428.

On the suppression of the Order of the *Jesuits,* and their expulsion from the Roman Catholic States, *Catherine* II., Empress of *Russia,* granted

them an asylum in her dominions, with the free exercise of their worship, and licence to undertake the education and instruction of youth. And this toleration was extended by her successor *Paul* I., who applied to the Pope to licence the society in his dominions, by his Letter of August 11, 1800; and this was made the principal pretext of the present wily and encroaching Pontiff, to issue his Bull for the general restoration of the Order, in 1814, of which the following is an extract. See the Original, *Report*, &c. pp. 422—424.

" We felt it our duty to comply with the prayer of the ex-Jesuits, *Francis Kareu*, &c. resident in *Russia*, the more willingly, inasmuch as the then reigning Emperor, *Paul* I., had warmly recommended the establishment of the Society of Jesus in his empire, under our authority. We also thought proper to extend the same favour to the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, at the request of our dear son in Jesus Christ, *Ferdinand*, king of that nation; who begged that the Society of *Jesus* might be established in his dominions and states, as it had been in *Russia;* — which we did, by our brief of July 30, 1804. — *The Catholic world demands, almost unanimously, the restoration of the Society of Jesus.*—We have therefore decreed, of our certain knowledge, and plenitude of Apostolical authority, to ordain and appoint by this our Constitution of perpetual validity, that all the concessions and faculties, granted solely by us

to the *Russian* empire, and the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, shall henceforward be understood to extend, as we truly extend them, to *our whole Ecclesiastical States*, and *to all other States and Governments likewise*."—Thus encroaching on the indefeasible rights of "all other States and Governments," in the genuine spirit of the most arrogant of his predecessors.

But this crafty and unprincipled order of monks most devoted to the See of Rome, of all its satellites, which, indeed, was the true cause of their re-establishment, *in opposition to the wishes of all the powers of Europe*, (*Russia*, and the *Two Sicilies* excepted) abused the trust and confidence reposed in them by the Russian monarchs. They perverted from the National Greek Church several of the youth granted to their care, and some women of weak and inconsiderate minds, whom they drew over to their own religion.

To correct these misdemeanors and punish the offenders, the present Emperor, *Alexander*, published an *Ukase*, or Royal Edict, dated Dec. 20, 1815, for the immediate expulsion of the *Jesuits* from St. *Petersburgh*, prohibiting them from entering the two capital cities of the empire, *Petersburgh* and *Moscow*; and ordering the Archbishop of *Mohilow* to replace the *Jesuits* employed in the Roman Catholic Churches, by other priests or monks of a different order; and re-establishing the Romish Church in *Russia* upon

the same footing that it was in the Empress *Catherine*'s reign, before the innovations of 1800.

The Empress *Catherine*, indeed, notwithstanding her toleration of the Romish religion in her dominions, imposed several restrictions thereon. By her Ukase of January 17, 1782, she placed all their *religious orders* under the superintendance of the Archbishop of *Mohilow* and his consistory, "without *daring* to submit to any *foreign* Ecclesiastical power;" she prohibited all Bulls, or Rescripts from Rome, to be published, until they were inspected by the senate and sanctioned by imperial authority.—*Report*, pp. 399—405.

PROTESTANT STATES.

DENMARK.

During the reign of *Christian* V., an artful plot was discovered for the restoration of the Romish Religion in the north of Europe; in which several priests, educated at the *Jesuit* College of *Braunsberg*, in *Prussia*, but outwardly professing the Protestant Religion, were secretly and actively employed in propagating Popery in their parishes. In consequence of this discovery, several severe laws were enacted in 1683, against Roman Catholics in general, and the *Jesuits* in particular.

No *Romish* Prelates are admitted into the king-

dom; nor any *Secular* Priests or Missionaries, except such as are appointed by the Romish Bishop of *Hildesheim*, in *Lower Saxony*, who acts as *Legate*, or *Vicar Apostolic*.

No *Monks*, *Jesuits*, or the like *papistical* persons, are allowed to settle, or even to make any long stay in the Danish dominons, under *pain of death;* and whoever harbours them, to be punished like the harbourers of *outlaws*.

No persons who have studied at any *Jesuit* school, or college, are capable of being entrusted with any office, either in the schools or churches.

So strictly is the law against *Jesuits* enforced, that when *Hall*, the celebrated astronomer at *Vienna*, but a Jesuit, wanted permission to observe the transit of *Venus* over the sun's disk, 1769, in *Norway*, he was obliged to procure a special dispensation from the king.

The Roman Catholic *Clergy* are tolerated in *Denmark*, but are prohibited from making *proselytes*, from exercising their functions, except in their privileged chapels in the city; and from making processions, or performing any public ceremonies, out of their church, or houses.

The Roman Catholic *Laity* are allowed to acquire funded property, and even lands; but they are forbidden, in common with all persons professing any other than the established religion, to nominate to vacant cures in their churches, even though they be nobles, or persons privileged. By

order of the king, Sept. 20, 1741; and another edict of Sept. 7, 1770, takes from them the right of naming the parish officers for the churches on their own estates.

There is no law by which Roman Catholics are expressly excluded from civil and military employments: but the spirit of the law is so understood; and though there are examples of several Roman Catholics arriving at some of the first posts, especially in the military line, there is no example of their attaining to the first offices in the civil administration, or in the tribunals of justice.—*Report*, &c. pp. 429—438.

SWEDEN.

The *Edict of Toleration*, by *Gustavus* III., in 1781, permits the free and unconstrained exercise of religion and perfect liberty of conscience throughout the *Swedish* dominions; subject, however, to several restrictions:—

That persons of a *foreign* religion, resident in this country, shall on no pretext be admitted into the higher or lower offices or services of the State, or become members of the Diet. They may however be admitted into the military line.

That they shall not establish any *public* schools or places for instruction, for the diffusion of their own doctrine, at any place in the kingdom.

That they shall not be suffered to admit or send Missionaries, in or out of the kingdom, to extend their own religion, or to make proselytes. — "This prohibition to be enforced with *the utmost severity.*"

That no convents shall be established, nor monks be suffered or admitted, of what religion or sect soever the same may be.

That no *Lutherans* be allowed to attend the divine service of the other religions: for no person must be suffered to neglect his own divine worship, from a curiosity to witness that of others.

In like manner, persons professing other religions must not admit to their service any others but such as are of their own persuasion.

Under these restrictions, the Roman Catholics were permitted to build churches, to have bells and church-yards, to bring up their children in their own religion, under private teachers, to practise the ceremonies of their worship *within their churches*, but not in public. *Report*, &c. pp. 442—452.

PRUSSIA.

The king of *Prussia, Frederic the Great*, declared himself the *immediate head of all the churches in his dominions.*

Wherever the appointment of Bishops has not been reserved to the Crown, the Chapter has the

right of election, still subject to the King's approbation. The nomination of Roman Catholic Bishops is vested in the Crown: The confirmation of the Pope is suffered only as a mere formality.

No kind of communication between either the Bishops or Individuals with the Court of *Rome* can *lawfully* take place, but through the medium of the Prussian Government.

This Government has never allowed a *Nuncio* to be sent to it from the Court of Rome; but has always warily preferred to transact business therewith by means of an agent of its own, residing there.

Although perfect liberty of conscience prevails throughout the *Prussian* dominions, and no *individuals* are called to account for their religious principles or opinions, provided they act conformably to the national laws, — yet the State requires to be informed of the religious principles of *every society*, because it cannot permit principles to be *propagated* which are injurious to a due reverence for God, to the allegiance to the State, and to morality; and reserves to itself the right of deciding whether any of their principles have such a tendency.

Confessions to Clergymen are to be kept secret in ordinary cases, unless with the consent of the party confessing, under pain of deprivation of office. But whenever the revelation of such confession becomes necessary, either to avert a danger

which threatens the State, or to prevent a crime from being committed, or to remedy or obviate the bad consequences of a crime already committed, the Clergyman *must* declare the same to a magistrate.

No subject of the State, either spiritual or temporal, can be brought under the jurisdiction of any foreign spiritual superior, under any pretext whatsoever.

All Papal Bulls, Briefs, and other Ordinances of foreign spiritual superiors, must be laid before the Government for examination, and approved previous to their publication and execution.—*Report*, &c. pp. 40, 44, 453—459.

There is much *precautionary policy* in these regulations.

HOLLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS.

In 1730, a placard was issued by the United States, "to oppose and prevent the encroachments of the Papacy, and dissemination of the *dangerous doctrine* of the *unlimited power of the Pope*, not only in *religious* matters, but in those also of *civil* government."

By this placard, no Roman Catholic priests shall be permitted to perform divine service, or any of the priestly functions, but such as are *natives*; excluding all *regular priests* or *monks*, and especially *Jesuits*.

No Roman Catholic priest shall be *tolerated*,

without the written consent of the Burgomasters in the towns, and the chief magistrates in each district. And previous to the Act of Toleration being granted, the priests shall make and sign a *declaration, in verbum sacerdotis,* "on their priestly word," instead of an oath; that they have a sincere abhorrence of such principles as maintain that the *Pope,* or any other Ecclesiastical authority, has power to release, or dispense any subject, for *heresy,* or for any cause whatsoever, from the oath of obedience to the civil authorities; and that no faith or allegiance is due to such as are under excommunication, or without the pale of the Church of *Rome;* and that they do not merely profess their abhorrence of these notions, but *will, to the utmost of their power, inculcate into the members of their community, and teach, by their example, as well as by their precepts, obedience to the States and Magistrates, as their lawful superiors, and exhort them to a peaceable and decent conduct.* And, finally, that they shall not solicit, nor accept any *absolutions* or *dispensations* from the *Pope,* or from any other person whomsoever, on the subject of the above declaration, or any part or portion thereof, none excepted."

That the priests who are *already in office,* shall be equally compelled to make the aforesaid written declaration and signature within the space of one month after the date of these present regulations; and if any of them, after being summoned, shall

refuse to make the aforesaid declaration and signature, he or they shall be banished, without any further consideration.—*Report*, &c. pp. 460—463.

HAMBURGH.

No *Romish* Bishop, or Dignitary, is suffered to reside in this State. Roman Catholic priests, however, are tolerated, subject to the nomination of the Bishop of *Hildesheim* and the confirmation of the Senate. No papal edicts have been published there since *Luther*'s time.—*Report*, p. 48.

SAXONY.

No *Romish* Bishops, or Dignitaries, have resided here since the Reformation, which took its rise in this country.

When the Elector *Augustus* II., in 1697, embraced the Romish faith, his Protestant subjects were so much alarmed, that he was obliged to promise not to interfere with their religion in any way; and he actually resigned all power over the *Lutheran* church and schools to his *Privy Council*, with full liberty to act without responsibility to him.

When the Pope wished to establish monasteries, or send friars into *Saxony*, to make collections

for pious uses, the official answer was, That his Holiness could not do it of his own authority, without obtaining the king's consent.—*Report*, &c. pp. 466—468.

The reports of the other smaller States are immaterial, and therefore omitted.

BRITISH COLONIES.

CANADA.

Formerly the *French* Government solely appointed the Roman Catholic Bishop of *Quebec;* and the same privilege continues, and is exercised under the *British* sway: the nomination of the Bishop and of his coadjutor rests entirely in his Majesty's Government, without any interference from any other quarter, either spiritual or temporal. And the Pope has acquiesced in their nomination, by sending bulls of institution to the person so appointed. Thus, when General *Prescott* was Governor of *Canada*, the Roman Catholic Bishop having died, the Governor appointed his coadjutor, Monsieur *Plesses*, to succeed him; who, in a few months, received his bulls from the Pope, and was consecrated accordingly.

By the definitive treaty executed at *Paris*, in 1763, "The Roman Catholic Religion was to be tolerated in *Canada, so far as the laws of Great*

Britain permit," and accordingly the inhabitants are entitled to the free exercise of the *Romish* Religion, but not to the powers and privileges of it as an *Established Church;* "for that is a preference which belongs only to the *Protestant Church of England.*"

Upon these principles, therefore, and in order that the just *supremacy* of the Crown of Great Britain, in all matters *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil,* may have its due scope and influence,

All appeals to, or correspondence with any *foreign* Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, of what nature or kind soever, are absolutely prohibited, under very severe penalties.

The oaths and declarations of *allegiance, supremacy,* &c. are required to be taken and subscribed by the *Romish* Clergy, who may be appointed to any Ecclesiastical benefice, or licenced to exercise any power or authority in respect thereto.

Such *Ecclesiastics* as may think fit to enter into the holy estate of *matrimony,* are released from all penalties to which they may be subjected by the See of *Rome.*

The Society of the *Jesuits* was suppressed and dissolved in 1770, and all their rights, possessions, and properties vested in the Crown; but sufficient stipends and provisions were granted to the members during their natural lives.

See the Instructions of the British Ministry to

the Governors of Canada, from 1763 to 1811.—*Report*, pp. 471—482; and Baron *Maseres'* valuable *Quebec Papers*, 2 vols. 1775—1786, of the occurrences while he was Attorney-General of that province.

ST. DOMINGO.

After this island became subject to his *Britannic* Majesty, on a vacancy in the Episcopal See, an application was made to the Court of *Rome* to expedite bulls of institution in favour of a prelate actually nominated to that See by the British Government; but his nomination having been withdrawn, from local considerations, another communication was made to the Court of *Rome* to obtain suspension of the faculties requested.—*Report*, p. 49.

MALTA.

Upon the decease of the Bishop of *Malta*, in 1807, the Pope nominated Monsignor *Mattei* to the vacant See; and his *Sicilian* Majesty also applied in his favour, to the Governor, Sir *A. Ball*, through his Minister, the Marquis of *Circello*, to have the Pope's Bulls carried into effect, as usual, for his institution, and enjoyment of the revenues of the See of *Malta*. But the nomination of the Pope, and recommendation of the *Sicilian* Court,

were not sanctioned by his Majesty until the new Bishop had subscribed to certain stipulations required by the British Government previous to his installation.—*Report*, &c. pp. 482—486.

EAST INDIES.

The official papers under this head relate to the encroachments of the *Eastern* Popes, the Portuguese Archbishop of *Goa*, and the complaints of the Romish inhabitants of *Bombay* in 1813, to the British Government, claiming its protection against the Archbishop's undue interference in their *Ecclesiastical regimen;* which was accordingly granted, and no foreign jurisdiction permitted to be exercised in the British Colonies in the East, independent of the control of Government.—*Report*, &c. pp. 488—507.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

No particular religious community can be said to be established in the North American States. It is noticed, however, in the Report, as a matter of public notoriety, that for many years past, a Roman Catholic Bishop has resided at *Baltimore*, to whom, some time since, an Archbishop's pall was sent from *Rome;* and at the same time, five

suffragan bishops were appointed by the Pope: — the vigilant policy of this wily Pontiff seizing every opportunity of extending his influence, wherever he can get footing.—*Report*, &c. p. 50.

Intercourse of the Court of Rome, at present, with the English and Irish Papists.

This is the last, but most important article of that curious, valuable, and authentic mass of evidence contained in the *Appendix* to the *Report.*

From this and the preceding section, it appears plainly, that one common sentiment of jealousy, distrust, and precaution, against the unremitting usurpations and encroachments of the Court of *Rome*, equally pervades all the States of Christendom, whether they be of the *Romish*, *Greek*, or *Reformed* Churches.

2. That, notwithstanding the early opposition of the *Irish* and *British* to the usurped supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, all along from the days of St. *Patrick*, and the *Saxon* kings, until the *Reformation*, — of late years, papal interference and jurisdiction in the *British Isles* has become more extensive, and less controlled by the Government than in *any other foreign State*, and even in the *British Colonies* abroad. — "*It has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished,*" if not totally abolished, by a *Protestant* Legislature.

This progressive and alarming increase began

about the year 1782, in the reign of his present Most gracious Majesty, with the hazardous experiment of relaxing the *penal laws* against Popery; until, at length, in 1793, the *elective franchise* was granted to the Roman Catholics of *Ireland.* Not satisfied with this admission to a considerable share of *political power*, "the restless spirit of popery" (so well described by king *James*'s parliament, as we have seen) pants for *total emancipation*, as it is miscalled; and has harassed parliament, session after session, for the *unconditional* repeal of the few remaining disqualifying statutes and restrictions.

In the year 1813, a bill was brought into parliament for granting their claims, under certain restrictions; which was fortunately negatived by a very small majority in the House of Commons.

Since that time an open and avowed intercourse has subsisted between the English and Irish *Papists* and the Court of *Rome;* and the Rescripts of the Pope himself and his agents, are freely circulated in both islands. Among these, two of the most public notoriety, the Letters of Monsignor *Quarantotti*, Vice-President of the *Propaganda*, Feb. 16, 1814; and of Cardinal *Litta*, the President, April 26, 1816, addressed to Dr. *Poynter*, one of the English Vicars Apostolic, are registered in the Appendix of the Report, for the cognizance of Parliament, among the *Miscellaneous Papers*,

pp. 508 — 514, both in the original Latin, and with English translations.

These letters, especially the latter, enter fully into the main political disquisitions now pending between the *British* Government and the Court of *Rome*, viz.: —

1. The absolute appointment of *Romish* Prelates, by the Pope, to vacant Sees.

2. The Oath of Allegiance to the Pope, hitherto taken at their consecration.

3. The unlicenced admission of Bulls, Briefs, Rescripts and Ordinances from the Court of *Rome* to the *Popish* Hierarchy and Laity.

The Pope insists, as an essential *preliminary*, that Parliament shall first grant *full emancipation* to the Catholics; and then that he will condescend to grant what securities *he thinks proper*, in the foregoing points: —

1. " His Holiness will not hesitate to *permit*, that [the Chapters of the vacant Sees] to whom it appertains, [not the Administration] shall present to the King's Ministers a list of several Candidates, in order that Government may immediately point out and expunge any of them that may be obnoxious or suspected; and that, out of the rest, *his Holiness may freely choose those whom he shall judge fittest* for ruling the vacant churches."

This sort of *Veto* is nugatory and delusive, because it leaves the Pope in full possession of the

power of appointing Prelates to the vacant Sees; and it is directly the reverse of *foreign* usage: where the *Veto* is assigned formally to the Pope. For the executive Governments abroad, as we see, first take the recommendation of three or four Candidates, from the Chapters of the vacant Sees, or from the Consistories, and then choose among them the Candidate that appears to them most eligible, or least objectionable; who is placed at the head of the list: this is sent to the Pope, with the nominal power of rejection indeed; but he usually gives *canonical* institution to the Government Candidate.

2. His Holiness next dictates to Parliament what qualification or restriction he will permit in the Prelate's Consecration Oath, or rather the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, of which he offers the choice of these three forms: –

The first runs thus: "I swear and promise, on God's holy Gospels, obedience and fidelity to his Royal Majesty *George* III. I also *promise*, that I will hold no communication, will be engaged in no council, and will keep up no suspicious union that may be hurtful to the public tranquillity, either at home or abroad; and that, if I shall know any thing to the detriment of the State carrying on in my diocese, or elsewhere, I will communicate it to the Government."

The second, thus: "I swear and promise, that I will be constantly faithful, and entirely subject

to his Royal Majesty *George* III.; and that I will in no wise disturb the peace and tranquillity of this realm; nor will afford aid or assistance to any person that shall, either directly or indirectly, be adverse to his Majesty and the present Government of England."

The third, in fine: "I swear and promise obedience and true fidelity to our most acceptable Lord *George* III., whom I will defend against all conspiracies, attacks, or attempts of any kind, against his person, crown, and dignity; and that, if I shall know of any such plotting against him or them, I will communicate them to his Royal Majesty. And further, I faithfully swear and promise, that, according to my ability, I will preserve, protect, and defend the Succession to the Crown in his Majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever, whether in or out of the kingdom, that may claim or pretend a right to the crown of this kingdom."

These forms are all insufficient, for they afford no security against the *Pope* himself, "the *common enemy* of the kingdom," as he was styled by a *Romish* Parliament formerly, infinitely more dangerous than the *Pretender* ever was, whose family is now extinct. No notice is taken of the *Consecration Oath* itself in this Rescript, which ought to be new-modelled, as it was by *Cranmer*, in England; the Archbishop of *Mohilow*, in Russia, &c. &c. or rather reduced to a simple oath of

canonical obedience, as at its first introduction; if not totally abolished, as an *innovation* unknown to the *primitive Catholic* Church.

3. His Holiness feels particularly sore upon the third point.

"As to the *revision of Rescripts*, or the *regium exequatur* ('the royal licence'), *it cannot even be made a subject of negociation:* for your Lordship well knows, that since it would essentially injure *the free exercise of that supremacy, divinely entrusted to the Church*, it would assuredly be an *impiety* to permit or assign it to *any Lay-power;* and, indeed, *it has nowhere been ever permitted* [*formally* by the Pope]; for if *some governments*, even *Catholic*, arrogate to themselves a right of that kind, it is to be attributed to the *abuse*, not the right exercise of just power; which the Holy See, *in order to prevent greater evils, is forced indeed to endure and bear, but can by no means approve.* And as the *Bishops* and *Vicars Apostolic*, in the first article of the *Quæstionarium*, published by the Holy Congregation of the *Propaganda*, are severely prohibited from adverting to the *Political State*, in the reports of their Churches, which they are bound to return to the Holy See,—it is entirely to be hoped that Government will not persist in their opinion on this matter: *inasmuch as the Church cannot recede from its right, and from the exercise of such*

a right as experience testifies is not prejudicial to the Government itself."

This whole paragraph is a tissue of total misrepresentation and glaring falsehood. Long and multiplied *experience* abundantly testifies, that the intromission of Rescripts, &c. from the Court of Rome, is *prejudicial* to every other Government; and that all the Powers of Europe have been forced, by dire necessity, to restrict, or to abolish it totally, under the severest penalties. The *abuse* and encroachments on the *just rights* of foreign Princes, rests entirely on the *Pope*'s side; and he has everywhere else, except in the *British* dominions, been compelled, reluctantly, to relinquish it. The pretext of the *Popish Bishops* in Ireland, and *Vicars Apostolic* in England, not being allowed to meddle in *State-politics*, is impudent in the extreme: these very Rescripts prove, that they do so with a vengeance; and *Quarantotti* and *Litta* only tread in the steps of *Ghilini* and *Castelli*, &c. &c. whose *treasonable* correspondences with the Popish Hierarchy were exposed in the preceding section.

Of late, his Holiness has, moreover, opened a direct correspondence himself, not by proxy, with "*his dearly beloved Children, the General Board of the Catholics in Dublin.*"

The occasion was this: That turbulent and seditious Board, dissatisfied with *Quarantotti*'s Letter, recommending the foregoing nugatory *Veto*,

sent a Remonstrance to his Holiness, by their delegate, the Rev. *Richard Hayes*, in 1715; for which he was imprisoned for two years, and then banished from Rome. Upon his return, *re infectâ*, the indignant Board wrote a fresh Remonstrance, complaining that his Holiness was under *undue influence* in his treatment of their Delegate, and *inattention* to their Remonstrance. Whereupon he wrote them a Letter, Feb. 21, 1818, in which he condescends to apologize for the delay, and to chide them for intermeddling in his concerns: —

"We had a double reason for adopting this course: for, in the first place, Whereas, at the same time, there was brought unto us, along with yours, a Letter from the *Irish Bishops* also, relating to the same subject; and as we stated to these Bishops, as well by personal communication to *their delegates*, as by *our Letter*, dated Feb. 1, 1818, our opinion concerning the proposed difficulties, and the subject of your alarm, we thought it by no means necessary to repeat the same to you, which *you could have so easily learned and ascertained from them.* Secondly, The tenor of your Letter, addressed to us on that occasion, contributed in no small degree to induce us to act towards you in that manner; for though many assurances of *your devotion to the Catholic Faith* were mingled with your expostulations, yet, contrary to our expectation, we observed that you frequently gave expression to such language and

sentiments as seemed by no means in unison with *that devotion and zeal which the people of Ireland have at all times manifested towards the Apostolic See,* from which they justly glory that they have derived the light of the Faith,"* &c.

Upon the receipt of this reprimand, the Board applied to Dr. *Troy* for a copy of the said Letter to the Bishops, Feb. 1, 1818; who sent them a copious extract; but this not satisfying the Board, they requested a copy of the entire Letter; which Dr. *Troy* positively refused, in the following terms:—

——— "I have already communicated *almost* the whole of the Pope's Letter to the Catholic Prelates of Ireland, containing all that his Holiness has diffusively remarked on the *Veto question:* it is fully sufficient for all the information which the Board can *reasonably* require.

"The remainder of the Letter is of a *confidential* nature, and relates *exclusively to the Prelates,* as precisely such: *I cannot, therefore, communicate it to the Board.*

"J. T. Troy, D. D. &c.

"*Dublin, June* 12, 1818."

This decides the point, that the private Rescripts from Rome contain matters of a "*confidential,*" or

* This alludes to the unfounded mission of St. *Patrick* to Ireland, by Pope *Celestine.*

rather *treasonable* nature, "*not fit to be communicated*" to the public, and still less to the Government. The more anxious therefore the Pontiff is to maintain this pestilent intercourse uncontrolled, the more vigilant should the *Legislature* be to restrain it effectually, under the severest penalties of *præmunire;* and to bind this wily *Proteus* with fetters and manacles, sufficiently strong to compel him to resume his native form and proper shape, and his primitive insignificance.

To what a state of servile degradation to the Pope, and to their superiors, the *Popish* Ecclesiastics of *England* and *Ireland* are now sunk, is evident from the late most humiliating declarations and recantations of *Gandolphy*, in England,* and *Hayes*, in Ireland!

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* The Rev. *Peter Gandolphy*, in 1812, published a *Romish Liturgy*, in English,—and in 1815, a *Defence of the Ancient Faith*, &c. 4 vols. 8vo. :—both designed "to *confirm Catholics in their faith*, and *to bring back to the bosom of Holy Mother the Church, those who have gone astray.*" And these works received the approbation of *Philip Anfossi*, Master of the Apostolical Palace, June 24, 1816. But, notwithstanding this, Dr. *Poynter*, Vicar Apostolic of the London district, refused to licence these works; and at length Mr. *Gandolphy*, after much opposition, was forced to submit entirely to the authority of Dr. *Poynter*, in the following humiliating

DECLARATION:—

"I, the undersigned, *ardently wishing to be reconciled to my Prelate*, the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of *Halia*, the

Hayes's submission, after he had been so maltreated at *Rome*, for undertaking the office of

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Vicar Apostolic of *London*, do profess and declare, that I was by *some persons* led into the persuasion, that the approbation of my works, entitled *Exposition of the Liturgy*, and *Defence of the Ancient Faith*, which I obtained at *Rome*, from the most Reverend Master of the sacred Apostolic Palace, was exactly the same as the *approbation of the Apostolical See*;—on the ground of which opinion, I thought that these works were undeservedly condemned and prohibited by my Bishop; and on that account I opposed him. But I acknowledge that I was deceived, and that the approbation which I obtained, was not such as may be truly called *the supreme and definitive approbation of the Holy See*; for in reality, sometimes works which have been published with the licence of the same Reverend Master, have been afterwards prohibited and condemned by a sentence of the Sacred Congregations. Now, therefore, having detected the error into which they led me, *I humbly beg pardon of the same Right Reverend Bishop for my disobedience, and for every particular, in which I have in any manner offended him, and resisted his authority*; and I willingly recall and retract whatever I have advanced in my printed address to the public, of the 5th of October, 1816, and in any other of my publications, either against him, or against any of the Clergy. I promise, that *I will in future sincerely shew him all obedience and subjection*; that I will readily and faithfully correct any mistakes or errors that shall be pointed out in the same works by the *Holy See*, or by *my own Prelate*. In the mean time, as far as it depends on me, I will entirely refrain from promoting the circulation of the same works, so long as they shall not have been lawfully corrected. *I humbly entreat my Prelate that he will kindly forgive me*, and, as I hope, *graciously receive me into his favour*. "PETER GANDOLPHY."

"*London, July* 8, 1817."

delegate from the Catholic Board, is couched in the following abject Declaration, at the time that the Pope's Letter, censuring his conduct, was publicly read at the Board, June 1, 1818.

— — " If the document now read censures my conduct whilst at *Rome*, I stop not to enquire whether it be authentic or not; whether its charges be vague or specific; whether proved, or otherwise; I stop not to investigate how the name of his Holiness came to be attached to it; whether it be the result of legal, or canonical discussion; or whether those who deprived me of my liberty, have succeeded in depriving me of my character in the eyes of the Sovereign Pontiff: I stop not to ask why the document did not precede my arrest; why it has been issued a twelvemonth later; in a word, *why the indictment should follow the punishment?—enough for me, if the Holy Father has been pleased to censure my conduct.*

" By faith a Catholic, by ordination a Priest, by obedience a *Child of the Holy See*, I bow with unhesitating submission, respect, and veneration, to the *centre of Catholicism*, the *source* of *Ecclesiastical subordination*, the *Vicegerent of* JESUS CHRIST. I solemnly declare, that I should choose death rather than to allow any private or personal feeling or consideration to betray me into the slightest contest with, or disrespect towards the authority or dignity of the *Head of the Catholic Church, Pope Pius* VII. — My tongue shall never

utter a syllable of complaint, nor my pen trace a line of vindication: for, lest scandal should arise, in the words of the Prophet *(Jonah)* I exclaim, "*Take me up, and cast me into the sea,*" &c. &c.

"*June* 1, 1818. RICHARD HAYES."

For a fuller exposure of this open and undisguised correspondence between the Court of Rome and his Majesty's *Popish* subjects in Ireland, which was blazoned in the public prints at the time,—see the *Antijacobin Review* for July and September, 1818.

The arbitrary measures and mandates of the Court of Rome, and the abject principles of passive obedience and non-resistance, displayed by such devoted *Children of the Pope*, as *Gandolphy* and *Hayes*, forcibly remind us of the *Sheik of the Assassines*, in *Syria*, during the *Crusades*, whose will was law to his children or subjects. At his beck, they stabbed, drowned, or precipitated themselves, to shew their implicit obedience; at his command, they assassinated the neighbouring princes and rulers who refused to pay tribute to the *Old Man of the Mountain*, as his vassals, utterly regardless of their own lives.

Of the *Children of the Pope*, the most devoted, the most unprincipled, and beyond all comparison, the most dangerous, are those modern *Assassines*, the society of *Jesuits;* who, from gratitude for

their restoration by the present Pontiff, in opposition to almost all the Powers of Europe, are necessarily more attached to the Papacy than ever. We cannot, therefore, notice their clandestine introduction of late into the *British Isles* without alarm;* and the several considerable seminaries of education they have already formed, in *England* and *Ireland*, without consternation and dismay:—We shudder at this silent, but rapid progress, and at the consummate policy with which they are labouring to get a complete ascendancy over the minds of the youth committed to their care. One of the rules prescribed for the admission of pupils into their *Irish* colleges, is this:—"The progress and happiness of the young student, not less than the discipline of a collegiate life, require that *he should not be removed, even at the times of vacation,*"—lest their parents or friends, or a more liberal intercourse with the world, might eradicate the seed sown in their hearts by these wily preceptors: well knowing, that young and tender minds are the most pliant and ductile to seduction; and also the most susceptible of the strongest and most lasting impressions:—*Cereus in vitium flecti — Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu.*

The expulsion of the *Jesuits*, and confiscation of their properties, as common incendiaries from

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* See the foregoing Article of the *Two Sicilies.*

France, Spain, Portugal, and their Colonies; from *Germay, Russia,* and even *Canada,* at the western termination of the British empire, furnish unanswerable motives and precedents for removing them from the *heart* of the empire without delay, where they can do infinitely greater mischief than in the extremities. And, indeed, the removal of these prime satellites of the See of Rome, the youngest, and the favourite children of the Pope; and also of the other *monkish* orders too, would not be unacceptable to the *Romish* Prelates and *Secular* Clergy. The Prelates dislike them, as being exempt from their jurisdiction and controul; and the Clergy, as intruders into their parishes and benefices; while the restless, domineering spirit, and flagitious tenets of the *Jesuits,* render them peculiarly odious to all.

How reluctantly the papal yoke is borne in *Great Britain* and *Ireland,* by the most intelligent and best informed of the Romish Clergy and Laity, is evident from the *Declaration* of the *Protesting Catholics* of England, so respectably and numerously signed; and the spirited *Appeal* of their *Committee* from the arbitrary inhibitions of their Vicars Apostolic, noticed in the preceding section; and from the *Loyal Irish Remonstrance* in 1661, which was defeated only by the opposition of the Pope's Nuncios and Partizans. Even the *Catholic Board in Dublin,* uncontrolled as it is, by the most respectable of the Irish nobility

and gentry, who forsook their seditious meetings, have not failed, we see, to express their displeasure at the Pope's ill treatment of their delegate, and supercilious neglect of their Remonstrance. And great discontents prevail among the Romish Clergy in *Ireland*, at the arbitrary disposal of the chief dignities and benefices in their Church, by the Pope and his Hierarchy, to their own creatures, without regard to merit, or the recommendation of the Chapters or Consistories in the several dioceses. This is a grievance of which they openly and loudly complain. Among all their classes, therefore, the reduction of the Pope's usurped supremacy, by the Legislature, to the lowered standard, prescribed by foreign governments, or rather to the primitive standard, in the reign of *Constantine* the Great, when the Bishop of *Rome* claimed no jurisdiction whatsoever beyond the limits of his own See, would unquestionably be considered as a great and most desirable *emancipation.*

From such emancipation the noblest and most important benefits, religious and political, might reasonably be expected to flow.

1. All ranks and classes of *Roman Catholics* might then shake off the invidious title of *Papists*, or vassals of the Pope, and freely and fully testify and declare their fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain, and allegiance to the Government; and, having given sufficient securities, may then with safety be put on a par with other *Protestant*

Dissenters, and admitted to an equal degree of *political power*.

2. A considerable reform in the doctrine and discipline of the *Romish* Church in the British Isles, might then be hoped. The Creed of Pope *Pius* IV., the standard of modern *Romish* faith, might then be stripped of its supernumerary articles, tacked incongruously to the *Nicene* Creed; and their *beneficed Clergy* be exempted from swearing belief and obedience thereto; their *Episcopal* regimen might then be restored to its native simplicity, and their religion be purged and regenerated to its native purity, according to the primitive Apostolical standard of St. *Patrick* in Ireland, and St. *David* in Britain, and St. *Columkille* in Scotland. A Reformation most devoutly to be wished by all genuine Christians, good citizens, and loyal subjects!

SECTION VI.

Purity of the Doctrines of the Primitive Church of the British Isles.

This subject has been partly anticipated in the second and third sections; in which were noticed the leading doctrines of our early fathers, *Patrick*, *Sedulius*, *Claudius*, *Taliessin*, &c. respecting the prime articles of Christian Faith, the *Holy Trinity*, *the foundation of the Church upon the rock Christ;* and the rejection of the heresy of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, of *Purgatory*, of *prayers to saints and angels.* In this section the subject shall be further illustrated, in the important articles of the *Holy Scriptures*, *Grace*, *Faith*, *Works*, and *Justification*, the *Lord's Supper*, *Prayers* and *Maxims.*

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

These were considered as the only true standards of religion and morality by our early Divines, rejecting all *vain traditions* built upon human

authority. St. *Patrick* finely observes, * "*the continual meditation and recital of the Scriptures, gives vegetation to the soul;*" or vital growth in *grace.* And the Abbot *Columbanus* recommends †, "*Let thy riches be the precepts of the Divine Law.*"

And we are told, ‡ that "his disciples diligently observed only those works of *piety* and *chastity,* which they could learn from the *Prophetical, Evangelical,* and *Apostolical* writings," or from the *Law* and the *Prophets* of the Old Testament, and the *Gospels* and *Epistles* of the New.

The proper study of the Scriptures is thus recommended by *Sedulius* : § "*Search the Law, in which is contained the will of God;*" on Ephes. v. adopting our Lord's precept, "*Search the Scriptures,*" John v. 39; and also St. Paul's, "Be ye *not unwise,* but understanding what is *the will of the Lord,*" Ephes. v. 17. But with this sage caution ‖,

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* Bonis semper moribus delectatur et consentit, et *assiduis scripturarum meditationibus et eloquiis, anima vegetat. Patric. De abusionibus Seculi,* cap. 5. de pudicitia.

† *Sint tibi divitiæ, Divinæ dogmata legis. Columban.* in *Monastichis,* et Epist. ad *Hunaldum.*

‡ Tantùm ea quæ *Propheticis, Evangelicis,* et *Apostolicis* literis discere poterant, *pietatis* et *castitatis* opera diligenter observantes. *Bede* Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 4.

§ *Scrutamini Legem in quâ voluntas ejus continetur. Sedul.* in Ephes. v.

‖ *Plus* vult *sapere,* qui illa scrutatur *quæ Lex non dicit.* Id. in Rom. xii.

"He willeth to be *overwise*, who *searcheth those things of which the law doth not speak*:" on Rom. xii. according with St. *Paul*, "*Be not wise above that which is written.* 1 Cor. iv. 6.

They further recommended the study of the Scriptures to all, learned and unlearned. We are told by the venerable *Bede*,* that "the disciples of Bishop *Aidan*, whether of the *Clergy* or of the *Laity*, were required to exercise themselves in *meditation*; either in reading the *Scriptures*, or in learning the *Psalms*." And he gives this honourable testimony to the *National Church*, in his days:† "It searches and professes *one* and the *same knowledge* of the highest truth, and of real sublimity, by *meditation of the Scriptures*; as well in the vulgar tongues of the *English* (or *Saxons*), *Britons*, *Scots*, (or *Irish*), *Picts*, (or *Caledonians*), as in the *Latin* language, common to them all." Thus intimating, that the common use of the Latin among the learned of those nations, did not preclude the unlearned from

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* In tantum autem vita illius, a nostri temporis signitiâ distabat, ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive adtonsi sive laici, *meditari* deberent; id est, aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis, operam dare. *Bed.* ibid. cap. 5.

† Quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur; *Anglorum* scilicet, *Britonum*, *Scotorum*, *Pictorum*, et *Latinorum*, quæ, meditatione Scripturarum, cæteris omnibus est facta communis. *Bed.* ibid. cap. 1.

searching the Scriptures in their own vernacular translations. And that such translations, indeed, were early and widely prevalent, we learn from *Chrysostom :* * "Although thou didst go to the ocean [westwards] even to the noted *British Isles;* although thou didst sail to the *Euxine* Sea [eastwards]; although thou didst go to the southern regions [of *Africa*], thou wouldst hear all, everywhere, reasoning about subjects of Scripture, with different voice indeed, but not with different faith; with different tongue indeed, but with accordant understanding."—Such is the honourable testimony borne to the uniformity and harmony of the "*Holy Catholic Apostolic Church*" in all the essentials of Christianity, even in his age.

Nor did our learned divines confine themselves to the *Latin* versions alone, the *Old Italic*, the *Milanese* of the Younger *Eusebius*, the *Gallican*, and the *Latin* Vulgate of *Jerome : Sedulius* and *Claudius*, in the Old Testament, frequently follow "the *Hebrew Verity ;*" and in the New, they often correct the Latin Vulgate by the Greek text; while St. *Patrick*, as observed before, in his *Confession*, usually adopts, in the Old Testament, the Greek version of the Septuagint, in preference

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* Καν εις τον ωκεανον απελθης, καν προς τας Βρεταννικας νησους εκεινας, καν εις τον Ευξηνον πλευσης ποντον, κἂν προς τα νοτια απελθης μερη· παντων ακουσης πανταχου τα απο της γραφης φιλοσοφουντων, φωνη μεν ἑτερα, πιστει δε ου· και ἑτερᾳ γλωσσῃ μεν διαφερῳ, διανοιᾳ δε συμφωνῳ. *Chrysost.* in Serm. de utilitate lectionis Script. tom. viii. p. 3. edit. Savill.

to the Vulgate. And *Ricemarch*, the Briton, the learned son of a learned father, *Sulgen*, Bishop of St. *David*, in the following elegant epigram, commends *Jerome*'s translation of the Psalter, for ascending to the pure source of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, not like other translators, at second hand, who " darkened the *Hebrew* sun-beams with their *Latin* cloud *."

" In *Hebrew* characters the scroll retains
The *Harp of David*'s most harmonious strains:
But other nations, from a ruder source,
Destroy their beauty, purity, and force;
While they explain, in their peculiar phrase,
The sacred meaning of these heav'nly lays,
And in a tongue but vaguely understood,
Obscure the sun-beams with their *Latin* cloud;
Like precious wines, through sundry vessels tost,
Whose strength and choicest flavour thus are lost:
But holy *Jerome*, fraught with Hebrew lore,
Draws from this fountain, truths of heavenly power;
And from their native character, explains
The force and beauty of those sacred strains,
And every secondary source disdains."

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* *Ebræis* nablam custodit litera signis:
Pro captu quam quisque, suo sermone *Latino*,
Edidit, innumeros linguâ variante libellos;
Ebræumque jubar suffuscat nube Latinâ:
Nam tepefacta ferum dant tertia labra saporem.
Sed sacer *Hieronymus*, Ebræo fonte repletus,
Lucidius nudat verum, breviusque ministrat,
Namque secunda creat, nam tertia vascula vitat.
Usher, Appendix, p. 135.

How widely different was this from the superstitious attachment of the modern Church of *Rome* to the *Latin* Vulgate; to which she ascribes higher authority than to the *Hebrew* and *Greek* originals!

GRACE, FAITH, WORKS, JUSTIFICATION, AND SANCTIFICATION.

The important controversy, Whether of the twain, *faith in Christ* or *good works*, be more available to *Justification* or *Salvation*, — has long harassed and divided the Church, even from the Apostolic Age to the present day. It was early noticed by the Apostles, *Paul* and *James;* each wishing to guard against opposite errors:—"I have *faith*, thou hast *works*." Jam. ii. 18. Against the Judaizing *Roman* Converts, who maintained the superior efficacy of *works;* including also the modern *Romish* Church, which admits *works of supererogation*, or more than are necessary to salvation, and lodges the supposed surplus in the treasury of the Church, to be dispensed at the will and pleasure of the Roman Pontiff, in *indulgences* for the benefit of his *loving children;* St. *Paul* declares, that "a man is justified by *faith, without the works of the law*." Rom. iii. 28. Thus considering *faith in Christ* as the only *meritorious* cause of *justification, independent* of any *legal* works; for "whatsoever is not of *faith*, is *sin*." Rom. xiv. 23. Which our thirteenth

Article understands of *works before justification*; but by no means *excluding* good works; for, in his instructions to *Titus*, he thus guards against misrepresentation of his meaning: "This is a *faithful saying*, and I desire thee *firmly to maintain* (διαβεβαιοσθαι) that they who have *believed in* God, be careful to *practise good works* (Tit. iii. 8); for "without *holiness*, no man shall see *the Lord*." Heb. xii. 14. And his whole argument may be thus summed up: — "For by *grace* we are *saved*, through *faith*; and this not of *ourselves*: it is the *gift* of God, not [the reward] of *works*,— that *none* should *boast*." Ephes. ii. 8, 9.—"We are *justified freely* by God's *grace*, through the *redemption* in Jesus Christ." Rom. iii. 21.

On the other hand, against the heretics of the Apostles' days, and against their followers, the enthusiastic sectaries who disgraced the *Reformation*, out of *affected humility*, but real *libertinism*, using their *gospel liberty* from the *yoke of the law*, as a *cloke of licentiousness*:" 1 Pet. ii. 15, 16. St. *James*, in his excellent practical Epistle, carefully distinguishes mere speculative or *dead faith*, from that which is *operative* and *lively*. The former he ascribes even to "the *Demons*, who *believe* and *tremble*." Jam. ii. 19. And he considers *good works* as the proper evidence of *faith*. "*Shew* me *thy faith without thy works*, and I will *shew thee my faith by my works*." Jam. ii. 18; and thence he concludes, that a man

is justified by works, and not by faith only. Jam. ii. 24; thus intimating the *joint* necessity of *faith* and *obedience* to salvation; as well expressed by one of our early divines, *Justificamur per fidem solam, sed non per fidem solitariam;* or, according to his own excellent translation, "We are *justified* by *faith alone*, but not by that *faith* which *is alone*, or exclusive of *good works*." And more fully by *Burkitt*:—"What God hath joined, none must divide; and what God hath divided, none must join: He hath separated *faith* and *works* in the business of *justification;* but he hath joined them in the *lives* of justified persons;" or in the business of *sanctification:* thus excellently explaining St. Paul's doctrine, "Being *freed* from [the *punishment* and *dominion* of] *sin*, and made *servants* to God [by *faith*], ye have your *fruit* unto *holiness*, and the *end everlasting life*." Rom. vi. 22. Here, the first requisite for the final attainment of salvation, or *everlasting life*, is the righteousness of *justification;* the second, the righteousness of *sanctification:* as critically remarked by the profound *Hooker*, *Eccles. Polity*, page 20.

How well this abstruse and intricate doctrine was understood and expounded by our primitive divines, will appear from a few extracts, selected from *Usher's Ancient Religion of the Irish and British*, chap. ii.

Sedulius observes, * "The *Law* was given, not that it might take away sin, but that it might *conclude all under sin* (Galat. iii. 22.); that men, being by this means *humbled*, might understand that their *salvation* was not in their *own power*, but in the power of *the Redeemer;*" on Galat. iii. "God has freely proposed by faith only to remit sins;" on Rom. iv. — That believers shall be saved by faith only; on Galat. iii.: and that where men have fallen, they are to be renewed "only by the *faith of Christ*, which *worketh by love;*" on Heb. vi. —"And this faith, when it has been *justified* [by *works of love*], cleaveth to the soil of the soul, like a root moistened by rain; so that, when it begins to be cultivated, by means of the law of

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* Non, ergo, Lex data est, ut peccatum auferret, sed ut *sub peccato omnia concluderet:* Lex enim ostendebat esse peccatum, quod illi per consuetudinem cæcati possunt putare justitiam. Ut hoc modo *humiliati*, cognoscerent non in sua manu esse salutem suam, sed in manu *Mediatoris*. Sedul. in Galat. iii.—Deus proposuit ut *solâ fide* salvarentur credentes. Id. in Hebr. vi. — *Gratis* proposuit [Deus] per *solam fidem* dimittere peccata. Id. in Rom. iv. — Per *solam fidem Christi* quæ per *dilectionem operatur*, in Hebr. vi. — Hæc fides cum *justificata fuerit*, tanquam radix imbre suscepto, hæret in animæ solo; ut cum per legem Dei excoli cœperit, rursum in eam surgant rami, qui fructus operum ferant. Non ergo ex operibus, radix justitiæ, sed ex radice justitiæ, fructus operum crescit: illa scilicet *radix justitiæ*, cui Deus acceptum fert *justitiam sine operibus*. In Rom. iv.

God, it furnishes branches anew, which may bear the fruit of works. Therefore, the root of righteousness doth not grow out of works—but the fruit of works out of the root of righteousness; even that *root of righteousness* which God accepts for righteousness, *without works.*" On Rom. iv.

In like manner *Claudius* teaches:* "This doctrine refutes those who think that *faith alone* is sufficient to the salvation of their souls: not as if the *works of the law* shall be contemned, and without them *simple* (or *solitary*) *faith* should be sought; but that the works themselves should be adorned with the *faith of Christ:* for that sentence of the wise man is excellent, that the faithful does not *live* by righteousness, but '*the righteous by faith.*" (Habbak. ii. 4.) on Galat. iii.

And this justifying or saving *faith*, is finely represented by *Columbanus*,† as productive of higher degrees of faith: "*Faith alone will be enriched with the bounteous gift of faith;*" in conformity with the humble petitioner's request, "LORD, I *believe;* help thou my *unbelief!*" Mark ix. 24.; and of the Apostles themselves:

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* —— Non quò *Legis opera* contemnenda sunt, et absque eis *simplex fides* adpetenda; sed ipsa opera *fide Christi* adornentur. Scita est enim sapientis viri [*Habbakuk*] illa sententia: non fidelem *vivere* ex justitia; sed '*justum, ex fide.*' Claud. in Galat. iii.

† *Sola fides fidei dono ditabitur alma.* Columban. in Monastichis.

"*Lord increase our faith!*" Luke xvii. 5. "If any of you lack *wisdom*, let him ask of God, (who giveth to all *liberally*, and upbraideth not) and it shall be given to him; but let him ask in *faith*, nothing wavering." Jam. i. 5, 6. "For whosoever hath [*faith*], to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance." Matt. xiii. 12. As our gracious Lord himself declares: "I came, that (*my sheep*) might have *life*, and that they might have it more abundantly." John x. 10. And this promised "*wisdom*," this promised "*life*," is saving *faith*, according to the apposite observation of *Sedulius*: "As the *soul is the life of the body*, so *faith is the life of the soul**." The insufficiency of the *law* of *Moses* is well described by *Claudius* †: "He hath the perfection of the *law* who believeth in *Christ*. For since none could be justified by the law, because none ful-

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* *Vita corporis anima, vita animæ fides est. Sedul.* in Hebr. x.

† *Perfectionem Legis* habet qui *credit in Christo*. Cum enim nullus justificaretur ex Lege, quia nemo implebat legem nisi qui speraret in promissionem Christi; fides posita est quæ cederet pro perfectione Legis: ut in omnibus prætermissis fides satisfacerit pro totâ Lege. *Claud.* in Rom. x. — Fides, *dimissis per gratiam peccatis*, omnes credentes *filios* efficit *Abrahæ*. *Id.* in Rom. iv.—Justum fuerat ut, quomodo *Abraham* credens ex gentibus, per *solam fidem justificatus est*, ita cæteri, fidem ejus imitantes, salvarentur. *Id.* in Rom. i.— Per *adoptionem* efficimur *filii Dei*, credendo in FILIUM DEI. *Id.* in Matth.

filled the law, except he who hoped in the promise of Christ,—*faith* was appointed as a substitute for the perfection of the law, that in all omissions, *faith* might satisfy for the whole law."—"*Faith*, procuring the remission of sins by *grace*, makes all believers *sons of Abraham:* for it was just, that as *Abraham*, a *Gentile* believer, was justified by *faith* only, so the rest, who imitate his faith, shall be saved."—"Through *adoption* we are made *sons of God*, by believing on the SON OF GOD." And *Sedulius* observes, "This is the testimony of our *adoption*, that we have THE SPIRIT; by which we pray, and cry ABBA, FATHER: forasmuch as none can receive so great a pledge as this, but such as be *sons* only."

"Thus did *Sedulius* and *Claudius*, two of our most famous divines (as remarked by their worthy successor, Primate *Usher*,) deliver the doctrines of *free-will* and *grace*, *faith* and *works;* the *law*, and the *gospel*, *justification* and *adoption*, no less agreeably to the faith which is at this day professed in the *Reformed Churches*, than to that which they themselves received from the more *ancient doctors;*" and we may add, both derived their information from the pure fountain of the *Holy Scriptures* themselves, skilfully compared, and faithfully expounded.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The modern *Romish* distinction between "the *sacrifice* and the *sacrament* of the *Mass*," was unknown to our early divines. By the *Mass*, they understood, in general, the service of the Church, or the public Liturgy; whether prayers only were said, or whether the Holy Communion was celebrated. Thus *Adamnanus* relates, that the last *Mass* which St. *Colme* attended, was the *Vesper Mass* of the Lord's Day (June 9, A.D. 597). Nor did they distinguish the *Sacrifice* from the *Sacrament*, as the *Romanists* do now; but used the name of Sacrifice indifferently, both for that which was offered to God, the *Eucharist*, "the special sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving;" and for that which was given to and received by the communicant, namely, the elements of bread and wine. Thus *Sedulius* says, "*Tarry one for another:* that is, until you receive the *sacrifice;*" explaining 1 Cor. xi. 33.

Our ancestors received the *Sacrament* in both kinds, according to the Scriptures, both clergy and laity: "As oft as *ye* eat this *bread* and drink this *cup*, ye do shew forth the *Lord's death* until he come." 1 Cor. xi. 26. — "Drink ye *all* of it." Matt. xxvi. 27. In his Pastoral Hymn, *Sedulius*

thus eloquently expresses the Evangelical doctrine: * —

> " In fine, who else is present, as *Chief Pontiff*
> And *High Priest of the Order of Melchisedek,*
> But CHRIST? the author of the *two-fold libation;*
> To whom always his own gifts are offered,
> The *fruit of the Corn,* and the *joys of the Vine.*"

And, in his Comment on St. *Paul*'s Epistles, he thus ably explains it:—" *Melchisedek* offered *bread* and *wine* to *Abraham,* for a *figure* of CHRIST offering his *body* and *blood* upon the cross, to GOD HIS FATHER." Here *Melchisedek* is represented as a *Royal High Priest,* the type of CHRIST; the *bread* and *wine* were offered to *Abraham* (not to God); and they were a *figure* of CHRIST's *body broken,* and *blood shed* on the cross for an offering to GOD. The bread and wine therefore are offered to the Communicants (as to *Abraham*) *daily,* for a *commemoration* of the Lord's *passion (once performed)* and of our own salvation." And he thus aptly and eloquently illustrates our Lord's command, " Do this in *re-*

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* Denique *Pontificum princeps, summusque sacerdos,*
Quis nisi CHRISTUS adest, *gemini libaminis* auctor,
Ordine Melchisedeck? cui dantur munera semper
Quæ sua sunt, *segetis fructus* et *gaudia vitis.*
Sedul. Carm. Pasch. lib. 4.

membrance of me." Luke xxii. 29. "He left us a *memorial* of himself; even as if one that was going a far journey should leave some *token* to him he loved, in order that, as often as he beheld it, he might recollect his benefits and acts of friendship."

Claudius also remarks†, that "Our Saviour first wished to deliver unto his disciples the *sacrament* of *his body* and *blood;* which he signified by the breaking of the *body* and the effusion of the *cup;* and afterwards, to offer up the *body itself* upon the altar of the cross."—Here it is remarkable, that in the second clause, *the thing signified*, "the *body*," is substituted for the *sign*, "*the bread;*" even where the direct intention of the speech was to distinguish the one from the other; "*the body*" in the figurative sense, from "*the body itself*," in the literal sense. And this apparent solecism is perfectly conformable to primitive usage, and warranted by the genius of the oriental languages, the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syro-Chaldee;* in which the verb substantive frequently supplies the place of the verb of similitude; "*it is*," put for "*it denotes*, *signifies*, or *represents*." When our

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† Voluit autem discipulis suis tradere *sacramentum corporis* et *sanguinis sui;* quod significavit in fractione *corporis* et effusione calicis; et posteà, *ipsum corpus* immolari in ara crucis. — *Claud.* lib. 3, *in Matth.*

Lord, therefore, said, "This *is* my body" — "this *is* my blood," (Matt. xxvi. 26, 27) he meant, according to the vernacular, or Syro-Chaldee phraseology, "This *represents* my body;"—"this *represents* my blood;"—and not merely his body and blood, in their natural or sound state, when he spake these words; but as afterwards, in their suffering state, when "*broken*," and "*shed*" on the cross. And our Lord himself demonstrates this figurative application, when he calls the *wine*, not simply, "*my blood*," but "*my blood of the New Testament*," or new covenant ratified thereby. Matt. xxvi. 28. And *analogy* decides the figurative sense of the *bread* likewise: "this *represents my body*, which *is to be broken* shortly on the cross." (κλωμενον, put for το μελλον κλασθαι.) 1 Cor. xi. 22.

The *Romish* doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, therefore, grounded on the literal expressions, "This *is* my body," &c. is not only revolting to common sense, that Christ should have *two bodies* at the same time, his *own* natural *body*, and the *bread* in his hands at the time he spake these words,—but is also contrary to *scripture* critically explained. It even stands convicted and confuted by the evidence of the *Romish Missal* itself; reciting and paraphrasing our Lord's words more correctly and fully, than even *our* Communion Service: —

"Verba autem consecrationis (quæ sunt *forma hujus sacramenti*) sunt hæc:

"*Hoc est* enim *corpus meum:*" et, "*Hic est* enim *calix sanguinis mei, Novi* et eterni *Testamenti*, mysterium fidei; *qui pro vobis et pro multis* EFFUNDETUR, *in remissionem peccatorum.*"

"The words of Consecration (which are the *form of this* sacrament) are these: —

"For *this is my body:*" and, "For *this is the cup of my blood, of the New* and eternal *Testament*, the mystery of faith; *which* SHALL BE SHED *for you and for many, for the remission of sins.*"

Here the future tense, *effundetur*, "*shall be shed*," shews that no *transubstantiation* or *change* of the bread and wine into the *substance* of our Lord's body and blood, actually took place *at the time* when OUR LORD consecrated the elements; nor, consequently, when *the priest* consecrates them at present. The verb, *effundetur*, "*shall be shed*" (it is but justice to the *Latin* Vulgate to remark) is surely a more correct rendering of the original, *το εκχυνομενον*, (put for *το μελλον εκχυνεσθαι*) than our received translation, "*which is shed;*" instead of "*which is to be shed*," shortly, on the cross. Matt. xxvi. 28.

How well the *sacramental doctrine* was understood in *England* also, we learn from the admirable Homily of *Elfric*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

in the reign of *Ethelred* II. A. D. 979, in his *Sermones Catholici*, of which an old English translation is preserved in the *Bodleian* Library, Oxford, and in that of *Bennet* College, Cambridge.

"There is a very great difference between the *invisible* virtue of this sacrament, and what it *appears* to us in the qualities of its own nature.—In its own nature, it is corruptible bread and wine; but by virtue of the divine institution, it is truly the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ after consecration, not in a *corporeal*, but *spiritual* manner. The body in which Christ *suffered*, and the *eucharistical* body, are widely different: the first was born of the Blessed Virgin, and consisted of blood, bones, nerves, limbs, animated with a rational soul; but the body which we call Eucharistical, is made up of several grains of wheat; it has neither blood, bone, nerve, limb, nor soul in it: we are therefore not to form any *corporeal* idea of it, but to understand it wholly in a *spiritual* sense.—In the Eucharist, whatever repairs our nature and forms us to a better life, proceeds entirely from the *mystic* virtue, and a *spiritual* operation. For this cause the Eucharist is called a *sacrament*, because one thing appears to our senses, and another to our understanding: what in the sacrament is the object of sight, has a corporeal figure; but what is represented to our understanding, has a spiritual force and efficacy.

"Moreover, the body of Christ which suffered and rose from the dead, is eternal and impassible, and no more subject to decay or death; whereas the Eucharist is not eternal, but corruptible, subject to the force of time, and divisible into many parts; it is ground by the teeth, and passes through the common channels of the body; but notwithstanding, the spiritual efficacy of it remains in every part. A great many persons receive this holy body, or Eucharist, and yet the multitude of receivers weakens not the force of the operation; the virtue of the Sacrament being lodged in every part of what is consecrated, the least having as much efficacy as the greatest: the reason is, because the virtue does not operate in proportion to the corporeal magnitude, but by means of the Divine institution.

"The Sacrament is a *type* or *pledge;* but the body of our Lord *Jesus Christ* is the *truth* and *reality* of the representation. God has vouchsafed to give us this pledge or *earnest*, till we come to the truth itself, and then the pledge will disappear: for, as hath been observed, the holy Eucharist is the body of *Jesus Christ*, *not corporeally*, but *spiritually*. The Apostle St. *Paul*, speaking of the *Israelites*, has these words:—'I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and passed through the sea; and did all eat the same *spiritual meat*, and did all

drink the same *spiritual drink;* for they drank of the *spiritual rock* that followed them, and *that rock was Christ.*' 1 Cor. x. 1—4. That *rock* whence the water flowed, was not *Christ* in reality, but a *type* and *representation* of Jesus Christ, who made this gracious declaration to all the faithful: 'If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink, and out of his belly shall flow *rivers of living water.* By this *he* understood the *Holy Ghost*, which those that believed on him should receive.' John vii. 37, 38.

"The Apostle declares, that 'the children of *Israel*, who were in the wilderness, ate the same *spiritual meat*, and drank the same *spiritual drink;*' because the *manna* with which they were supported forty years together, and the *water* which flowed from the rock, were *types* of the *body* and *blood* of *Christ*, which are daily offered in the Church.

"*That manna* and *that water* were the same which we now offer, not corporeally but spiritually. To understand this, observe, that our Lord *Jesus Christ, before his passion,* converted the *bread* and *wine* into the sacrament of the Eucharist, and said, '*This is my body; this is my blood.*' Although his *passion was not over* when he pronounced these words, yet, by a *mystical* operation, he changed the bread into his body, and the wine into his blood; just as he had done in the wilderness *before*

his incarnation, when he turned the manna into his flesh, and the water that flowed from the rock into his blood."—See *Rapin's History of England*, vol. i. p. 143, second edition, where this masterly argument is given at length, furnishing the ablest explanation, perhaps, of this mysterious rite, anywhere to be found; and an advantageous specimen of the *scriptural* information of those *Saxon* times.

PRAYERS.

This poetical Paraphrase of the *Lord's Prayer*, in the *Welsh* language, is attributed to *Cadoc the Wise*, the contemporary of *Taliessin*, who flourished in the sixth century. See the *Welsh Archaiology*, vol. iii. p. 5.; or, *Roberts's Visitation Sermon, Appendix.*

GWEDDI Y BADER: SEF GAIR DUW YN UCHAF.

I.

Ein Tad hollaluog gwireddgar a thirion,
Sy'n trigo'n y lleodd a'r pethan nefolion,
Glan ydwyd a sanctaidd, dy enw mawr sancteidier
Hyd eitha'r holl endid lle treigla'th hynawsder.

II.

Deued arnom dy Deyrnas a bydded dy 'wyllys,
Fal y mae yn y nef, ar y ddaear yn ddilys,
Rho dad ini beunydd ein bara beunyddiol
Boed ini fyth ynod ymddiried yn hollol.

III.

Rho di'r un faddeuant i bawb o blant dynion
Ac y rhoddwn ni'n ddidwyll i'n llidiog elynion
Bydd drugarog i'n gwared rhag hud ein peehodau,
Rhag a'n ennyg ar gam, rhag pob anian o ddrygau.

IV.

Ti Frenin gogoned yw perchen y Deyrnas,
A'r nerth, a'r gwyr glod, a phawb mawl itt'in addas,
Bydd di'n amddiffynwr, a'n dedfwr, a'n llywydd,
Hyd oesoed diderfyn, hyd fyth, yn dragywydd. AMEN.

For the following English translation, I am indebted to that learned *Cambrian* Antiquary, the Rev. *Peter Roberts.*

"THE PRAYER, 'PATER,' &c. *or*, THE WORD OF GOD ABOVE ALL."

I.

"*Our Father* Almighty, full of truth and mercy,
Who dwellest *in the heavens,* and art pure and holy,
Thy name be sanctified to the utmost bounds
Of that existence where thy goodness dwells!

II.

Thy kingdom come upon us; and *thy will be done*
Truly *on earth, as it is in heaven.*
Give us, day by day, our daily bread,
And may our whole trust be in Thee.

III.

And *forgive* all the children of men,
As we sincerely *forgive our* bitter *enemies.*
Defend us mercifully *from the temptations* of sin,
And from all inclinations *to evil,* lest they lead us astray:

IV.

For Thou, Lord of glory, *art the Sovereign King,*
And *thine is the power,* and true praise, and all *honour.*
Be Thou our Protector, and Lawgiver, and Governor,
To endless ages, eternally, *for ever and ever.* AMEN.

To the kindness of the same literary friend, I also owe the following translations of *prayers* from a *Welsh* manuscript, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, before the *Reformation:* —

PRAYERS TO CHRIST.

I.

"O *Jesu,* who art the true Liberty of the Angels of the highest Paradise, remember the sorrows

which Thou didst suffer, when all thine enemies, like savage lions, stood around Thee, bearing false witness against Thee, reviling, buffeting Thee, and spitting in thy face, shamefully entreating Thee, in many ways, by word and deed: O Lord *Jesus Christ*, for the sake of the many sufferings inflicted on Thee by thine enemies, deliver me, I beseech Thee, from mine enemies visible and invisible, and keep me under the shadow of thy wings, that so I may obtain protection and eternal salvation." Amen.

II.

"O Jesu, the only Son of the Father Most High, and the image of his existence, remember how lowly Thou wast, when Thou saidst *Father, into thy hand I commend my spirit!* and that though Thou wast pure, yet was Thine heart wholly broken, when with a loud cry, Thou didst proclaim the mystery of thy grace, [*It is finished!*] that Thou didst redeem us by Thy death: Blessed Lord *Jesus*, I beseech Thee, by the bitterness of Thy death, as Thou art the Great King of Heaven and Earth, so guide me safely, that I may resist my three enemies, the Devil, the World, and the Flesh; and grant that I may live to Thee, and be dead to them; and take Thou my spirit into Thy protection, that so at my last hour I may attain to joy eternal. Amen."

These devout and scriptural prayers are immediately addressed, we see, to *our Lord Jesus Christ*, in conformity with the primitive Liturgies; corresponding to the admirable Prayer of St. *Chrysostom*, at the conclusion of our Evangelical Liturgy, "*Almighty God, who hast given us grace*," &c. and to the pathetic Petitions of our venerable *Litany*, "*By thine agony and bloody sweat, by thy cross and passion*, &c. *Good Lord deliver us*."

MAXIMS AND TRIADS.

The following translations furnish an advantageous idea of the *morality* of the early Fathers of the British Church about the sixth century; selected from the *Welsh Archaiology*, vol. iii.; or, *Roberts's Visitation Sermon, Appendix*.

I.

Seek not to enter *Paradise* by craft; or *Heaven* by bitterness of spirit; or to stand in the presence of the *Trinity*, if thou attain it not by the love of *unity*, p. 33. No. 120.

II.

The Three Precepts of *Lazarus*: *Love thy God*, for He made thee; *Trust in God*, for He supported thee; *Fear God*, for He will judge thee.

III.

There are three kinds of *Children:* The *Child of God,* who renders good for evil; *the Child of Man,* who renders good for good, and evil for evil; and the *Child of the Devil,* who renders evil for good.

IV.

There are three advantages of *Piety:* a sufficiency in this world; peace of conscience; and joy in Heaven.

V.

Three things a Christian should keep in mind, lest he fall into *deadly sin:* the Commandments of God, the Joys of Heaven, and the Torments of Hell.

VI.

Three things result from *Idleness:* To think Evil, to speak Evil, and to do Evil.

VII.

Without an *instructor,* no learning;
Without *learning,* no knowledge;
Without *knowledge,* no wisdom;
Without *wisdom,* no religion;
Without *religion,* no [grace of] God;
Without [*grace of*] *God,* without *every thing.*

VIII.

INSTRUCTIONS OF *CADOC THE WISE,*

To be learned, or committed to Memory, by his Pupils.

1. WHO IS WISE?

He who is neither provoked by reproach, nor elated with praise.

2. WHO IS PRUDENT?

He who considers before he speaks.

3. WHO IS STRONG?

He who is able to master his passions.

4. WHO IS MIGHTY?

He who is not ashamed of his poverty.

5. WHO IS WEAK?

He who cannot keep his own counsel.

6. WHO IS INDEPENDENT?

He who has a trade or profession, by which he is able to maintain himself everywhere.

7. WHO IS LIKED BY OTHERS?

He who can support himself.

8. WHO IS CHEERFUL?

He whose conscience does not accuse him.

9. WHO IS OF A GOOD HABIT OF LIFE, [OR GOOD-TEMPERED?]

He who can bear with an ill-tempered person.

10. WHO IS CHARITABLE?

He who can deprive himself to help others:

[for the *love of God*, and for *the sake of Christ*. 1 Cor. xiii. 3.; Matt. xxv. 34—40; x. 42; Mark ix. 41; 2 Cor. xii. 15.]

11. Who is happy?

He who hates that which leads to evil, and loves that which leads to good.

12. Who is religious?

He who believes in *God*, and loves *God*, and perceives that the will and work of *God*, in all things, is best.

Such were the admirable maxims of these primitive Christians.

We learn, with much pleasure, that a very respectable Cambrian Society has been lately instituted, for "the preservation of *Ancient British Literature*, Poetical, Historical, Antiquarian, Sacred, and Moral," under the patronage of the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Earl of *Powis*, the Bishops of *Bangor*, St. *David's*, St. *Asaph*, and *Llandaff*; the Lords *Dynevor*, *Kenyon*, *Cawdor*, and *Clive*; the Baronets *Watkins William Wynn*; *Thomas Mostyn*, *Robert Vaughan*, and *Charles Morgan*; the Reverend *Peter Roberts*, &c. &c.

From their proposed Researches for "inedited *Welsh Manuscripts*, relative to Antiquities and Literature, in the British dominions, and in Continental Libraries," a valuable stock of materials may be expected, for the composition of a "*New History of Wales*," under the auspices of the Society; of which a "*prospectus*," by a *bardic* member, *Edward Williams*, is announced to "be published at their expense."

The principal promoter of this laudable institution appears to be "the Lord Bishop of St. *David's*," that worthy successor of *Sulgen*; "to whom the Society," at a meeting held October 29, 1818, voted "thanks, for his great exertions in conducting its formation, and the lively interest he has taken in promoting its objects."

In Ireland, no *public* encouragement has

been hitherto given, to rescue from oblivion the mouldering relics of her ancient Literature *(rude-ribus pretiosa suis)* that may have survived the wreck of time, and escaped from the ruthless ravages of long-continued wars and commotions, ever since the primary scourge of *Danish* invasions. Much, however, has been effected of late years, by the generous exertions of meritorious individuals: such as that *English* settler, Lieutenant-General *Vallancey*, * deceased, by his zealous

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* Having long enjoyed the intimacy and correspondence of that distinguished *Irish* scholar, *Lieutenant-General* VALLANCEY, who has laboured more to promote the study of the *Irish language* and *antiquities* than any *Irishman* of the present age, Dr. *Charles O'Conor* excepted,—I cannot resist the melancholy gratification of transcribing part of a Letter, among the many I received from my old friend on subjects of *Oriental*, connected with *Irish* Literature, strongly expressive of the ardour of his pious and patriotic zeal for its cultivation.

"My dear Doctor, "*Dublin, October* 10, 1802.

"I am glad you feel your weakness in not being able to reply to your *Cavalry Preacher* * in the *Irish* tongue. How often did your late worthy friend *Forsayeth* † set forth the

* A certain description of *Methodist Missionaries*, of the *Wesleyan* connexion, so called in *Ireland*, from frequenting fairs and markets, and preaching there on *horseback*, with *black scull caps* on their heads, to attract notice, by the singularity of their appearance They preached occasionally in *Irish*, especially in *Connaught*, among the *Roman Catholics*, but with little success, the *Priests* having vigorously opposed them.—See *Hales's Methodism Inspected*, two parts, 1803, 1805.

† JOHN FORSAYETH, D. D. Senior Fellow of *Trinity College, Dublin*, and *Professor of Oriental Languages*, the parental Tutor, and predecessor of the Author in that Chair.

and indefatigable researches into the Antiquities, Literature, and Astronomical Science of the *Irish*

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necessity of our Clergy understanding *Irish?* And Dr. *O'Conor* lately conversed with me on the subject. I tell you, it is time that at least we should put forth some publications in that language; for the College of *Maynooth* have appointed a *Professor*, and applied to me to print my *Irish Dictionary*, which I cannot refuse, if they will encourage the printer.—Address your *Primate* on this subject; bid him enquire for *Irish* books printed by the Roman Catholics, even in *Armagh*. I think I have some yet left, since my attack on the Primate *Robinson*. Let the Roman Catholics no longer attribute it to the *Holy Virgin*, and the Prayers of St. *Patrick*, that the *Protestant Clergy* are so blind to the interest of their religion as to neglect the study of the *Irish* Language. My dear Sir, it is time we look about us: *you will lose your flocks, if you do not.*—Adieu, my dear Doctor,

"Yours very sincerely,

"CH. VALLANCEY."

The valuable *Irish Dictionary* here mentioned, the labour of twenty or thirty years, unfortunately still remains in manuscript, and unpublished, for want of encouragement in IRELAND! — An interesting *Prospectus* of it, including a curious account of the *Ogham Tree-Alphabet* of the *Irish*, lately found in an ancient *Arabic manuscript* in EGYPT, was published in quarto, 1802, *Dublin;* but there it ended! The *Prospectus* was unheeded, and the Author lost his labour, and the expense of printing. Surely, the publication of this posthumous Dictionary, under the patronage of the *Hierarchy*, the *University*, and the *Royal Irish Academy*, would reflect honour on themselves, and on the *Nation* at large; while the neglect of it, for these seventeen years past, is a disgrace to all. May the recent example of WALES stimulate IRELAND "*to go and do likewise!*"

nation, in his copious *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, and other tracts, published at his own

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The following Extract of a Letter, lately received from Dr. *O'Conor*, cannot fail to be acceptable to the Friends and Patrons of *Irish Literature* : —

" Dear Sir, " *Stowe House, April* 14, 1819.

——— " I have now the gratification to communicate to you the pleasing intelligence of one of the greatest acquisitions to *Irish* Literature that has been discovered in modern times. It is the *Ancient Irish Liturgy*, which was in use before the introduction of the *Roman*, by Cardinal *Paparo*, in 1152. It it written on vellum, bound in oak, fortified with plates of copper and brass, of curious workmanship, adorned with laminæ of silver, on which are inscribed in the *Irish* character and language, the name of *Donnchad*, the son of *Brian Boroimh*, and of other contemporary abbots, the scribes, and the artificers in gold and silver, by whom the cover was ornamented, at [the abbey of] *Cluanmacnoise*. These laminæ are ornamented with precious stones, such as were known in *Ireland* at that time. The gold and silver are of the purest quality. The whole of the MS. is in *Latin*; with the exception of those parts [or Rubrics] which prescribe the forms of some few ceremonies to be used in the Sunday's service, and in the administration of the Sacraments: these are in *Old Irish*. I have purchased this valuable manuscript for Lord *Buckingham*, and hope to have the honour of presenting it to the literary world with a version and notes. I give you leave to shew this letter to all who may feel interested therein.———I have the honour to be,

" Dear Sir, most sincerely,

" Your obliged humble servant,

" *Rev. Dr. Hales*, " CHAS. O'CONOR."
Killesandra."

cost; and by which he was a considerable loser. And that other still profounder *Irish scholar* and *antiquary*, the Rev. Dr. *Charles O'Conor*, lineally descended from the *Conchobars*, ancient monarchs of *Ireland:* whose various publications, and especially the last, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, under the munificent patronage of the Marquis of *Buckingham*, (to which this *Essay* is so largely indebted) richly entitle him to the gratitude and applause of the *Irish* nation, for his learned and successful exertions to raise and restore their ancient *literary character* from the low estate to which it had been so injuriously depressed, by *sceptical* ignorance and prepossession: — while his pious and charitable labours to open the eyes of his benighted fellow-countrymen of the *Romish* persuasion, by correcter editions of the genuine remains of their patron saint, *Patrick*,

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Every friend to the discovery of the *pure* and *primitive religion of* IRELAND, must cordially wish that Dr. *O'Conor's* valuable life and health may be spared and prolonged by PROVIDENCE, for the accomplishment of his proposed publication of the Liturgy with a Version and Notes; for which no man in the British dominions, perhaps, is so competent as himself; and it is to be hoped that he will seize the earliest opportunity of undertaking this *grande opus;* — a work which he justly states "belongs to Literature in general, to *Europe*, as well as to *Ireland*, as a venerable monument of that *Christian piety* which subsisted in *Ireland* long before any distinction of *Sects;* and which is not to be published from *any party views*."

and his disciple and panegyrist *Fiech;* which prepared the way for the present attempt to develope the "pure and undefiled religion" of that illustrious apostle of *Ireland;* and his masterly proofs, under the assumed character of the intrepid *Columbanus,* to evince the original *independence* of the *Irish* Church upon the Church of *Rome,* by a most ungrateful retribution, have only drawn down upon him the unmerited resentment, and unremitting obloquy and persecution, of a bigoted and intolerant *Popish Hierarchy,* which has so shamefully and servilely *apostatized* from the *primitive faith* and *gospel liberty* of their learned and renowned ancestors!

May this "*labour of love,* or *charity,*" seconding and promoting his public-spirited views, though perhaps with equal thanklessness on their parts, tend ultimately, in "GOD's own *time* and *season,*" to promote a RADICAL REFORM of their *religious* and *political* tenets; gradually removing those mists of *prejudice,* and shackles of *papal bondage,* under which these *blind guides* and their *servile flocks* have groped and groaned so long! This they would find a real "EMANCIPATION;" and the only effectual method to conciliate the *confidence* of their *fellow-citizens* and of a *Protestant Government,* then entitling themselves to be placed fully on a level with other *Dissenters,* when they shall, in a NATIONAL SYNOD, publicly renounce those *errors,* and formally abjure those *obnoxious*

tenets, so justly *imputed* to their *Church* by the *Legislature*, and thereby contribute, on their parts, to restore that *public peace* and *tranquillity* which they have disturbed; and, with the DIVINE BLESSING, ensure "the *permanence* of the STATELY COLUMN" of the BRITISH EMPIRE; *fortunate* beyond compare, under the tutelar protection of a gracious PROVIDENCE: which has hitherto *braved* all the assaults of *foreign foes*; and is "*frangible*" only by *civil discord* and *intestine warfare*.

——— *Ne proruas* [DOMINE,]
STANTEM COLUMNAM; *neu populus frequens,*
AD ARMA * — *cessantes ad arma*
Concitet; IMPERIUMQUE *frangat.*
——— ESTO PERPETUA!

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* "AD ARMA!" [*Clamando.*]

POSTSCRIPT.

In the fifth section of this Essay, shewing the *Precautions of Foreign Nations to counteract the usurped Supremacy of the Church of Rome*, an *abridgment* was introduced, p. 302, &c. of the voluminous *Report* of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on that subject, published in 1817; as containing much curious and important information, but too widely dispersed for general use, even of the *legislators*, for whom it was intended.

Although the industrious and intelligent framers of that Report seem well entitled to the thanks of the public, the drift of their labours appears to have been misapprehended by some readers. A correspondent, under the signature of *Luther*, who published five Letters in the *Times* newspaper, in March and April, 1817, gave the following Strictures thereon, which deserve to be examined, in justice to the reporters: —

He represents "the main points sought to be established by this Report: 1, That *the appointment of bishops by the crown is general throughout all foreign states*; and 2, That *the sanction of the crown to bulls sent by Rome before their publication in these states, is equally general.*"

"The deduction," says he, "*obviously* intended to be drawn from these facts is, that since the crown nominates to the episcopal Sees abroad, and permits or prevents the promulgation of Papal decrees, from the operation of which two provisions *its own rights are saved*, and *its own security guaranteed*, — so, if the same guards or cautions were only observed here, we might *safely* throw ourselves into the arms of the advocates of *Catholic emancipation*, and dismiss every foolish fear, as at once injurious to them, and unworthy of ourselves; we might thenceforth dispense with the Act of Settlement, as *functus officio*, and regard the Bill of Rights as so much waste paper.

"The *Roman Catholics* themselves, who *should best understand this Report*, are at present assigning *this* interpretation to it; and are contending, that having thus proved the security of foreign nations, in consequence of the appointment of prelates by foreign monarchs, and of the caution exercised by those monarchs over the publication of Papal bulls, they are fully entitled to expect, that if these points should be conceded by *them* in England, they have an undoubted right to share in *all* the privileges of Protestant subjects, and to become constituent parts of the *legislative* and *executive* government in this Protestant realm."

But, on the other hand, we may well question, first, Whether these are "the main points sought to be established by this Report?"—and, secondly,

Whether this writer and the Roman Catholics are warranted in their assumed deductions?"

1. There is a third, and most important point of the Report, which appears to have been totally overlooked by both; namely, That *in no Protestant state whatsoever, at the present day, are Roman Catholics admissible, either to the legislative or the executive government.* This fact is ascertained in the most express and explicit terms, by the Report of the Regulations subsisting in *Prussia, Denmark, Sweden,* and *Switzerland;* and the deduction that obviously follows from this fact is, that as there is no *precedent* throughout Europe for the grant of *political power* in Protestant states, to their Roman Catholic subjects, — so it would be impolitic, and hazardous in the extreme, to *try the experiment* now, in the Protestant empire of *Great Britain.*

2. The reporters fairly and fully state facts: they discreetly leave the deductions from those facts to the wisdom of Parliament; but the deduction to be obviously drawn, from the nomination of bishoprics by the crown, and the inhibition of Papal bulls, without licence, which hold equally in all the states, *Romish, Protestant,* and *Greek,* so far from making any security against the Pope, or any confidence in the attachment of their Roman Catholic subjects, even where they profess the religion of the state, as in *France, Spain, Portugal,* &c. only furnish an unequivocal test of the extreme

jealousy and apprehension with which all these states equally contemplate, and endeavour to guard against the encroachments and usurpations of the Papacy, and the seduction of their subjects.

How, or why, the *Roman Catholics shall best understand this Report*, remains for the objector to shew. They may indeed *affect* to understand it so, in order to compass the ambitious object for which they are so *pertinaciously* contending; and there is no small reason to dread they will accomplish it at last, from the *ignorance* and *apathy* of those who profess and call themselves PROTESTANTS. *Omnia vincit labor improbus!*

There is one consideration, however, of infinite weight and moment, paramount to all others, merely of a *political* nature, which does not appear to have entered hitherto into the contemplation of the *advocates of the Catholic claims in Parliament;* and which, if it had, must have produced their immediate and unanimous rejection:— "What *fellowship* hath CHRIST with *Belial?*" — What coalition, beyond full toleration, should be suffered between the Members of the *Reformed* Church of *England*, and of the *Unreformed* Church of *Rome?* The resemblance indeed between *Popery* and *Paganism* throughout, is frightful and tremendous. The religion of the Romish Church is only a modification of the ancient *idolatry* of Heathenism. The *pontifex maximus* of ancient and modern Rome perfectly resemble each

other in their character and functions; as shewn in the Introduction of this Essay, pp. 44—50. The analogy between the heathenism of *Papal* and of *Pagan Rome* formerly, has been ably exposed by the celebrated Dr. *Middleton;* and the connexion between the heathenism of *Papal Rome* and of *Pagan India,* at the present day, has been lately traced with much ability, from various sources of information, and especially from the observations of an intelligent writer on Indian affairs, long resident in that country, *Charles Grant,* Esq. M. P. late Chairman of the Hon. East India Company, by an eminent Solicitor, we understand, in the Court of Chancery, in a series of Letters, published in the *Times* newspaper, in the conclusion of the year 1817, under the signature of *Ignotus,* and republished 1818, in a tract, entitled *Popery the Religion of Heathenism,* — where the connexion is shewn in a variety of instances: — 1. "*The alliance between Heathen deification and Romish canonization;* — 2, *Between the image-worship of Heathenism and Popery;* — 3, *The similarity of the two priesthoods, and of the religious orders and fraternities of Heathenism and Popery;* — 4, *The alliance between the perpetual sacrifice of Heathenism and the perpetual sacrifice of the Mass;* — 5, *The conformity between Transmigration and Purgatory;* — 6, *The expiation of sins by money in the Heathen and Romish Churches;* — 7, *And*

the conformity between the supreme power of the respective priesthoods," &c.

——— Ubi passim
Palantes *error*, certo de tramite pellit;
Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit; *unus utrique*
Error, sed variis illudit partibus. HORAT.

I shall close this Postscript with the awful warning of the illustrious *Milton*, against the introduction of *Popery* in his days; which bear an ominous resemblance, in many respects, to the present turbulent times.

"When a nation becomes generally *irreligious* and *corrupt*, and will not take warning by the sore judgments of *fire*, *sword*, *famine*, and *pestilence*, designed for their good, for correction in mercy, GOD, in his wrath, takes up and inflicts his last and severest of punishments, *hardness of heart*, *infatuation*, and *idolatry*. *Idolatry* brought the *Heathens* into heinous transgressions (Levit. xviii.; Rom. i.); and heinous transgressions, in turn, often bring the slight, or *superficial professors of true religion* into *gross idolatry*. 'For this cause GOD shall send them *strong delusion*, that they should believe a *lye*; to the end that they might *all be judged* who believe not THE TRUTH, but have pleasure in *unrighteousness*' (2 Thess. ii. 11, 12); and *Isaiah* thus speaks of *idolaters*: — 'They have *not known nor understood*; for GOD hath *shut their eyes* that *they cannot see*, and *their*

hearts that *they cannot understand.*' Isa. xliv. 18. —" Let us, therefore," concludes *Milton*, " AMEND OUR LIVES WITH ALL SPEED, lest, through *impenitency*, we run into that *stupidity*, which we have heretofore sought by all means so warily to avoid, — the *worst of superstitions*, and *the heaviest of all* GOD'S *judgments*, — POPERY." *

. . . . . " Oh, MY LORD GOD, defend this realme from *Papistrie*, and maintain THY TRUE RELIGION !" — *Dying Prayer of King Edward the Sixth.* See *Holinshed.*

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* See *Milton's Treatise on Toleration*, 1673; republished by Baron *Maseres* in 1811; and abridged in *Hales's Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 1368, &c.; and *Blair's Revival of Popery*, lately published, 1819, shewing its *intolerant character*, *political tendency*, *encroaching demands*, and *unceasing usurpations*.

APPENDIX

TO THE ESSAY, &c.

CONTAINING

I. PTOLOMY'S ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF IRELAND, AMENDED, AND MODERNIZED.

II. ANCIENT PILLARS IN PALESTINE, AND ROUND TOWERS IN IRELAND.

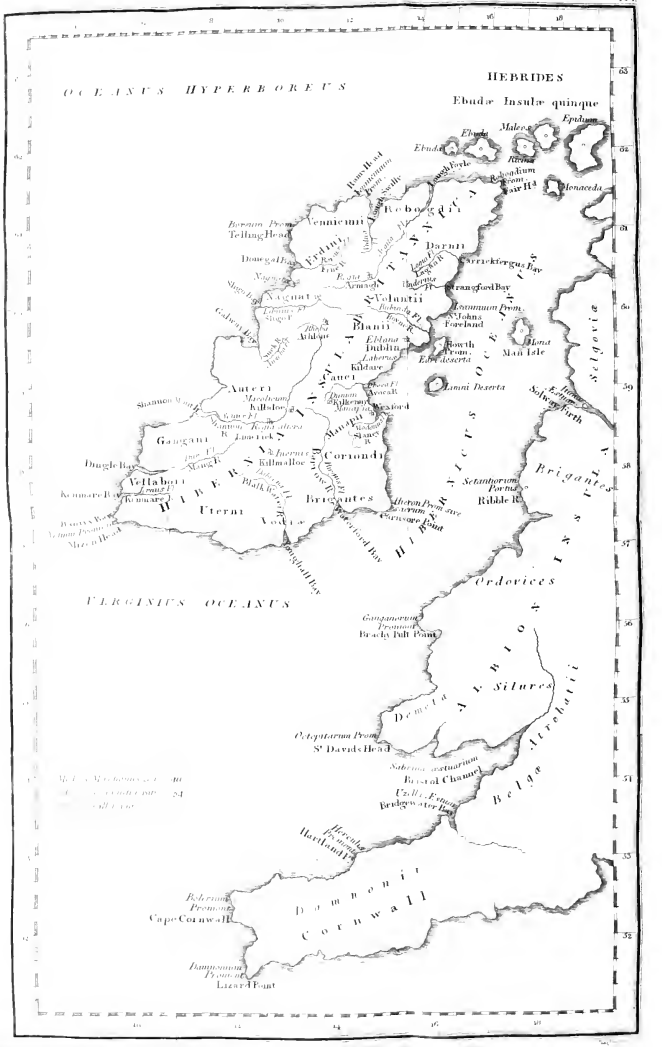
III. S. PATRICII CONFESSIO, SIVE EPISTOLA AD HIBERNOS.

IV. FIECH'S IRISH POEM; OR, PANEGYRIC ON SAINT PATRICK.

V. ANTIQUE MEDALS OF OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR, FOUND IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

CL. PTOLOMÆI GEOGRAPHIA HIBERNIÆ ANTIQUA,

emendata et cum HODIERNA collata, Studio W. HALES, D.D. 1818.



APPENDIX.

I. PTOLOMY'S ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF IRELAND, AMENDED, AND MODERNIZED.

IN the Essay, p. 117, it was stated, upon the authority of *Tacitus*, that "the coasts and harbours of *Ireland* were better known to [foreign] traders and merchants, than those of *Britain*." And this statement is conformable to the reports of the ancient Geographers, who wrote before, and about his time.

Orpheus, of *Crotona* in *Italy*, the friend of the tyrant *Pisistratus* of *Athens*, who flourished about B. C. 576, in his *Argonautics*, describing the voyages of *Hercules*, says, *Παρα νησον αμειβεν Ιερνιδα*—"He coasted along the Island *Iernis*;" and that he meant *Ireland* thereby, appears from *Aristotle*'s account of the *British* Isles, in his book *de Mundo*, dedicated to his royal pupil, *Alexander* the Great, about B. C. 330: speaking of the *Atlantic* or Western Ocean—*Εν τουτο γε μεν νησοι μεγισται τε τυγχανουσιν, ουσαι δυο Βρετανικαι,*

λεγομεναι Αλβιον και Ιερνη· των προιστορημενων μειζους, ὑπερ τους Κελτας κειμεναι· ουκ ολιγαι δε μικραι περι τας Βρεταννικας και την Ιβηριαν. "In this ocean, there are two islands, the greatest, the *British;* called *Albion* and *Ierne;* greater than the forementioned, lying beyond the *Celts* (or *Gauls*), northward; and not a few small ones, (the *Scilly* Isles), between the *British* Isles and *Iberia* (or *Spain*), southward." This is a remarkably accurate description of their site; much more so than that of *Tacitus,* noticed in the Essay.

Artemidorus of *Ephesus,* who flourished about B. C. 104, without naming *Ireland,* thus describes it, as well known at that time:—φησι ειναι νησον προς τη Βρεττανικη, καθ ἣν ὁμοια τοις εν Σαμοθρακη, περι την Δημητραν και την κορην, ἱεροποιειται. "He says, there is an island, adjacent to the *British,* where sacred rites are performed to *Ceres* and the virgin *(Proserpine),* similar to those in *Samothrace.*"

And *Marcianus,* of *Heraclea* in *Pontus,* who wrote in the third century after Christ, and abridged the works of *Artemidorus,* professed to correct his errors, not from the modern *Roman* geographers, but from ancient authors, and of equal credit; thus describes *Ireland:*—"The *British* Isle *Juvernia,* is bounded on the north by the *Hyperborean* ocean, on the east by the

Hibernian, and on the south by the *Virginian* ocean. It contains sixteen nations, eleven remarkable cities, fifteen remarkable rivers, five remarkable promontories, and six remarkable islands."

Festus Avienus also, who wrote a geographical work, *De Oris Maritimis,* in the reign of the Emperor *Theodosius,* thus describes its sanctity, and its situation, from the *Punic* annals of *Himilco,* the *Carthaginian* :—

Ast hinc, duobus, in *sacram*—sic *Insulam*
Dixere *prisci*—solibus, cursus rati [seu navi] est.
Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit;
Eamque late *gens Hibernorum* colit:
Propinqua rursus *Insula Albionum* patet.

And he thus states his ancient authority for the denomination of the *sacred island.*

Hæc *olim, Himilco Pœnus,* oceano super,
Spectasse semet et probasse, retulit.
Hæc nos, ab *imis Punicorum annalibus,*
Prolata longo tempore, edidimus tibi.

Himilco is represented by *Pliny* as contemporary with *Hanno,* who made a commercial voyage of discovery to the coast of *Guinea,* in *Africa,* about B.C. 570, some time after *Pharaoh Nicho* had caused *Africa* to be circumnavigated by the *Phœnician* mariners, as noticed by *Herodotus,* in the reign of *Nekus.*

These testimonies seem fully to establish the statement of *Tacitus*.

The completest description of the *British Isles* is furnished by the celebrated *Alexandrian* astronomer and geographer, *Claudius Ptolomy*, who wrote his great geographical work about A. D. 150. Of this, the Greek text alone was first published at *Basil*, in 1553, quarto. A second edition, with a Latin version, maps and notes, by *Mercator*, at *Amsterdam*, in 1605. The third, corrected and enlarged, with better maps, and geographical tables, by *Bertius*, 1618, folio; and republished at *Altenburg*, 1785.

Ptolomy appears to have derived his information respecting *Britain*, partly from the *Roman* Itinerary of *Lollius Urbicus*, formed about A.D. 144, after the conquest of *Britain* in *Vespasian's* reign. Hence the *Roman* names of places found therein, *Londinium*, *Eboracum*, *Alata Castra*, *Victoria*, &c.; whereas his geography of *Ireland* is taken from the *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*, and *Phœnicians*; *Marinus Tyrius*, *Himilco*, &c.

His geography of *Britain* has been excellently explained and modernized by the Reverend *John Horsley*, A.M., in his very learned work, entitled *Britannia Romana*, London, 1732, containing the original text of *Ptolomy*, *Antoninus's Itinerary*, the *Notitia*, and *Ravenna's Peutingerian Tables*, and appropriate *Essays*, *Tables*,

and *Indexes*. *Horsley*'s Map of *Britain* is published separately in *Laurie* and *Whittle*'s edition of *D'Anville's Maps*, London, 1810.

Mercator's Map of *Ireland*, has been copied and explained by *Ware*, *De Antiquitatibus Hiberniæ*, London, 1658, second edition; who has given the modern names of places, but too often incorrectly, owing to the inaccuracy of his map. *Bertius* has considerably improved it. And from his improved map, *O'Conor* has corrected several mistakes in the modern names of places, assigned by his predecessors, *Mercator*, *Ware*, *Camden*, &c., and republished the original text of *Ptolomy* respecting *Ireland*, in his *Rerum Hibernicarum*, &c. Proleg. I. pp. 37—60. The Map of *Bertius* however, adopted by *O'Conor*, without any alteration, is incorrect in some places, and requires emendation, in consequence of inaccuracies in the original text of *Ptolomy*.

Geographical Merit and Defects of Ptolomy.

The illustrious *Hipparchus*, who flourished about B.C. 130, was the first who brought down *Astronomy* from the heavens to the earth, and made it subservient to the improvement of *Geography*, by ascertaining more critically the positions of places on the terrestrial globe: from their *latitudes*, or meridian distances from the

equator, north or south; and their *longitudes*, or distances of their meridians from the prime meridian, east or west. The longitudes of several remarkable places, he determined by the elevation of the pole above their respective horizons; and their longitudes, by their horary distances from the first meridian, for every hour of difference in time, allowing fifteen degrees of longitude, or four minutes of time for one degree of longitude.

Ptolomy, indeed, had the great merit of reviving this prime invention of *Hipparchus*, after it had lain dormant above two centuries, and of applying it upon an extended scale to his scheme of geography, so far as *astronomical* observations in his time had determined the latitudes and longitudes of places. And where they failed, he endeavoured to supply their place, by the observations and reports of the early *Phœnician*, *Carthaginian*, and *Grecian* navigators, respecting the lengths of the longest days at the summer solstice, varying in proportion to their latitudes or climates; and by the most correct *itineraries*, or distances of posts, stations, or places from each other, laid down by the *Grecian* and *Roman* historians and travellers. But from such coarse observations, and imperfect measurements, his geography was unavoidably incorrect, in the infancy of the science. He had the glory, however,

of laying the foundation of the present *scientific* system. See *Blair*'s learned and ingenious *History of the Rise and Progress of Geography*, 1784, 12mo.

Hence, we need not wonder, that he assigns too high a latitude to the *British Isles*, in general: *Ireland*, especially, lies between the parallels of latitude 51 deg. 15 min. and 55 deg. 15 min.; but *Ptolomy* raises it to 57 deg. and 62 deg., or six degrees too high. Of course, his latitudes and longitudes of particular places are necessarily inaccurate.*

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* The following Tables may be useful in correcting *Ptolomy*'s Geography:—

I. TABLE OF CLIMATES.

Climate.		*Longest Day.* hor.	min.	*Latitude.* deg.	min.	*Ancient Positions.*
I.	—	12.	0.	0.	0.	
	Middle	12.	15.	4.	15.	I. *Meroe, Egypt.*
II.	—	12.	30.	8.	25.	
	Middle	12.	45.	12.	30.	II. *Syene, Egypt.*
III.	—	13.	0.	16.	25.	
	Middle	13.	15.	20.	15.	III. *Alexandria, Egypt.*
IV.	—	13.	30.	23.	50.	
	Middle	13.	45.	27.	40.	IV. *Rhodes, Mediterranean.*
V.	—	14.	0.	30.	20.	
	Middle	14.	15.	33.	40.	V. *Hellespont, or else Rome.*
VI.	—	14.	30.	36.	28.	
	Middle	14.	45.	39.	2.	VI. *Borysthenes, or Dnieper.*
VII.	—	15.	0.	41.	22.	
	Middle	15.	15.	43.	32.	VII. *Riphean M. at*

Thus, he reckons the longest day at *Ιουερνις*, *Juernis*, the capital city of the south of *Ireland*,

	hor.	min.	deg.	min.
VIII. —	15.	30.	45.	29.
Middle	15.	45.	47.	20.
IX. —	16.	0.	49.	1.
Middle	16.	15.	50.	33.
X. —	16.	30.	51.	58.
Middle	16.	45.	53.	17.
XI. —	17.	0.	54.	27.
Middle	17.	15.	55.	34.
XII. —	17.	30.	56.	37.
Middle	17.	45.	57.	32.
XIII. —	18.	0.	58.	29.
Middle	18.	15.	59.	14.
XIV. —	18.	30.	59.	58.
Middle	18.	45.	60.	40.
XV. —	19.	0.	61.	18.
Middle	19.	15.	61.	55.
XVI. —	19.	30.	62.	25.
Middle	19.	45.	62.	54.
XVII. —	20.	0.	63.	22.
Middle	20.	15.	63.	40.
XVIII. —	20.	30.	64.	6.
Middle	20.	45.	64.	30.
XIX. —	21.	0.	64.	49.
Middle	21.	15.	65.	6.
XX. —	21.	30.	65.	21.
Middle	21.	45.	65.	35.
XXI. —	22.	0.	65.	47.
Middle	22.	15.	65.	57.
XXII. —	22.	30.	66.	6.
Middle	22.	45.	66.	14.
XXIII. —	23.	0.	66.	20.

the head of the Tandis or Don.

These *seven climates* (denominated from the chief places through which the middle parallels of *northern* latitude ran) alone, were noticed by the *ancient* geographers; thinking that the rest were uninhabitable, either from heat or from cold; or else unknown in the *southern* latitudes.

The *twenty-four* modern *climates* begin at the *equator*, where the day is always 12 hours long; and, increasing by half hours, end at the *Arctic Circle*, where the longest day is 24 hours. *Six* more climates are reckoned from thence to the *North Pole*; in which the days increase from *one* month to *six*, or *half a-year*, at the Pole

18 hours; and its horary distance from *Alexandria* $3\frac{1}{4}$ hours; and thence collects its latitude,

	hor. min.	deg. min.
Middle	23. 15.	66. 25.
XXIV. —	23. 30.	66. 28.
Middle	23. 45.	66. 30.
End	24. 0.	66. 31.
XXV. —	1 month	67. 30.
XXVI. —	2 months	69. 30.
XXVII. —	3 months	73. 20.
XXVIII. —	4 months	78. 20.
XXIX. —	5 months	84. 0.
XXX. —	6 months	90. 0.

itself, in the *Summer* half-year; and the reverse in the *Winter*.

The *twenty-four* climates gradually decrease in breadth, to the Artic Circle; but the *six* increase from thence to the Pole.

This first Table is compiled from *Sir Isaac Newton*'s excellent edition of *Varenii Geographia Generalis*. Cantab. 1681. pp. 319—321.

II. TABLE OF DEGREES OF LONGITUDE.

Deg. Min.	*English Miles.*	*Deg. Min.*	*English Miles.*
0. Equator	69. 25.	45. —	49. 0.
1. —	69. 24.	47. 30	46. 78.
2. 30.	69. 18.	50. —	44. 51.
5. —	68. 99.	52. 30.	42. 15.
7. 30.	68. 65.	55. —	40. 0.
10. —	68. 2.	57. 30.	37. 21.
12. 30.	67. 61.	60.	34. 62.
15. —	66. 89.	62. 30.	31. 97.
17. 30.	66. 04.	65. —	29. 30.
20. —	65. 07.	67. 30.	26. 50.
22. 30.	63. 98.	70. —	23. 68.
25. —	62. 76.	72. 30.	20. 82.

58 deg. 10 min.; and its longitude, 11 deg. west of *Alexandria*.

The longest day of 18 hours, actually corresponds to a latitude of 58 deg. 29 min.; nearly agreeing with his; but the horary distance of $3\frac{1}{4}$ hours, would give 45 deg. 4 min. of longitude, instead of 11 degrees. But the *pharos* or lighthouse of *Alexandria*, according to *Walsh*'s journal, lies in 29° 45′ east longitude of *Greenwich*;

Deg. Min.	*English Miles.*	*Deg. Min.*	*English Miles.*
27. 30.	61. 42.	75. —	18. —
30. —	59. 97.	77. 30.	14. 99.
32. 30.	58. 40.	80. —	12. 02.
35. —	56. 73.	82. 30.	9. 04.
37. 30.	54. 94.	85. —	6. 03.
40. —	53. 04.	87. 30.	3. 02.
42. 30.	51. 05.	90. —	0. 0.

This second Table is contracted from the fuller Table of that learned physician, *Dr. William Falconer*, of *Bath*, exhibiting the length of the degrees of Longitude, at every ten minutes of Latitude, reckoned from the Equator to the Pole, in English miles, and decimal parts, carried to five places of decimals; computing a *geographical degree* of Longitude at the Equator itself, $69\frac{1}{4}$ *English miles*, according to the most accurate modern calculations. It is the *fifth* of the *Tables of the Ancient Measures of Length*, reduced to *English* Measures, subjoined to his excellent translation of *Arrian*'s *Periplus*, or *Circumnavigation of the Euxine Sea*, with critical *Geographical Dissertations and Maps*, &c. Oxford, 1805. 4to. Anonymous; the profound modesty of the Author suppressing his name.

and *Juernis* or *Kilmalloch* lies 8° 30′ west of *Greenwich*. *Ptolomy's* longitude therefore, of 11 degrees, is doubly erroneous.

He also reckons the longest day at *Rhæba*, or *Athlone*, 18½ hours; and its horary distance from *Alexandria* 3⅕ hours; and thence collects its latitude 56 deg. 54 min., and its longitude 12 degrees. But the longest day of 18½ hours, gives the true latitude, 59 deg. 18 min.; and 3⅕ hours would give the longitude 45 deg. 3 min.; his latitudes and longitudes therefore are doubly erroneous.

Probably, however, there are mistakes in the numeral letters expressing these latitudes and longitudes. Of this, a material instance occurs in the latitudes assigned to the mouths of the rivers *Αυσοβα*, *Ausoba*, at *Galway*; and *Σηνος*, *Senus* or *Shannon*, on the western coast. Both are marked with the same numerals, namely, *ν θ* —*λ*, 59 deg. 30 min. And this, we may presume, misled *Bertius*, to place the course of the river *Shannon* as having its mouth in the same latitude with the mouth of the *Ausoba*; and hence, to misplace the more southerly rivers—the *Δουρ*, *Dur*, in the room of the *Senus*; the *Ιερνος*, *Iernus*, in the room of the *Dur*; and to omit *Kenmare* bay entirely, into which the *Iernus* actually runs. This mistake of *Bertius* is the more extraordinary, as his predecessor *Mer-*

cator had avoided the error in *Ptolomy*'s numbers, and assigned the *Shannon*, and the rivers below it, to their true positions; and he has been followed by the ablest geographers since, *Cellarius, D'Anville*, &c.

On the other hand, *Mercator* misplaced several towns, which were restored to their true sites by *Bertius*. He misplaced *Juernis*, "*Kilmallock*," near the head of the *Kenmare* river, in *Kerry*; *Ware* miscalled it *Dunkerrin*, which is near *Roscrea*, in the county of *Tipperary*; and *D'Anville* miscalled it *Cashel*. *Mercator* misplaced *Rhæba*, on the river *Birgus* or "*Barrow*," instead of high up on the *Shannon*, where stands *Athlone*: he misplaced *Macolicum*, also, in the interior of *Connaught*; whereas *Ptolomy* represents it as a "*maritime city*," which corresponds with the site of *Killaloe*, on the *Shannon*, navigable for small craft up to the falls in its neighbourhood, and was formerly a place of considerable note, the residence of *Brian Boroimhe*, king of *Munster*, who defeated the *Danes* at *Clontarf*, near *Dublin*, A.D. 1002. It could not denote *Mallow*, (for which it has been mistaken, from the resemblance of names), seated on the *Dabrona* or "*Blackwater*." *Mercator* also misplaced *Regia*, which, restored to its true site, represents *Armagh*, as judiciously noticed by *D'Anville*. *Laberus*, also, thus restored to its true site,

denotes *Killair*, according to *Camden*, or *Kildare;* the letters *l* and *d* being frequently interchanged in *Irish*, as *Gillas* for *Gildas*. Here is a fine Round Tower, intimating that it was a place of note in the *Druidical* times.

Dunum, more southerly, is supposed by *Ware* to denote *Dunamase*, in the *Queen's* county; and by *Camden*, *Dunleith-glass*, or *Downpatrick*, in *Ulster*. But it seems rather to denote *Kilkenny* or *Kil-Canice*, "the temple of *Canice*," its patron saint of old. The noble park of the *Ormond* family in its neighbourhood, still retains the name of *Dun-more*, the "great *Down*." And adjoining the Cathedral, on the south side, there stands a fine Round Tower. And that the county of *Kildare*, indeed, was a principal residence of the *Druids* formerly, appears from its containing within its precincts, not less than five of these Round Towers; and also a holy well, still called *Tubber na Draoid*, "the *Druids'* well."

I shall now proceed to trace *Ptolomy's* outline of the *coasts* and *rivers* of *Ireland;* the maritime and inland *cities;* and the several *nations* inhabiting the island; annexing their *modern* names, as far as they are discoverable.

NORTHERN COAST.

Ροβογδιον ακρον. *Rhobogdium promontorium.*
Fair Head.

Αργιτυ ποταμυ εκβολαι. *Argitæ fluvii ostia.*
Lough Foyle.

Ουιδυα ποτ. εκβ. *Viduæ fl. ost.*
Lough Swilly.

Ουεννικνιον ακρον. *Vinicnium prom.*
Ram's Head.

Βορειον ακρον. *Boreale prom.*
St. Helen's, or Telling head.

WESTERN COAST.

Ραυιυ ποτ. εκβ. *Ravii fl. ost.*
Erne river, Donegal bay.

Λιβοιυ ποτ. εκβ. *Liboii fl. ost.*
Sligo bay.

Αυσοβα ποτ. εκβ. *Ausobæ fl. ost.*
Suck river, Galway bay.

Σηνυ ποτ. εκβ. *Seni fl. ost.*
Shannon mouth.

Δυρ. ποτ. εκβ. *Dur flu. ost.*
Mang river, Dingle bay.

Ιερνυ ποτ. εκβ. *Ierni fl. ost.*
Kenmare river, Kenmare bay.

Νοτιον ακρον. *Australe prom.*
Misen head.

SOUTHERN COAST.

Δαβρωνα ποτ. εκβ. *Dabronæ fl. ost.*
Blackwater River, Youghall bay.

Βιργυ [Βαργυ.] ποτ. εκβ. *Birgi [Bargi] fl. ost.*
Barrow river, Waterford bay.

Ιερον ακρον. *Sacrum. prom.*
Carnsore point.

EASTERN COAST.

Μοδονς ποτ. εκβ. *Modoni fl. ost.*
Slaney river, Wexford bay.

Οβοκα ποτ. εκβ. *Oboca fl. ost.*
Avoca river, Arklow bay.

Βαβινδα ποτ. εκβ. *Buvinda fl. ost.*
Boyne river, Drogheda bay.

Ισαμνιον ακρον. *Isamnium prom.*
St. John's foreland.

Ουινδεριος ποτ. εκβ. *Vinderius fl. ost.*
Strangford bay.

Λογια ποτ. εκβ. *Logia fl. ost.*
Lagan river, Carrickfergus bay.

Ροβογδιον ακρον. *Rhobogdium prom.*
Fair head.

MARITIME CITIES.

Ναγνατα πολις επισημος. *Nagnata urbs insignis.*
Western coast.

Μαναπια πολις. *Manapia urbs.*
Wexford, *Southern.*

Εβλανα πολις. *Eblana urbs.*
Dublin, *Eastern.*

INLAND CITIES.

NORTHERN.

Ριγια, [Ρηγια]. *Regia.*
Armagh.

WESTERN, ON THE SHANNON.

Ραιβα πολις επισημον. Athlone.	*Rhæba urbs insignis.*
Μακολικον. Killaloe.	*Macolicum.*
Ετερα Ριγια. Limerick.	*Altra Regia.*

EASTERN.

Λαβηρον. Kildare.	*Laberus.*
Δανον. Kilkenny.	*Dunum.*

SOUTHERN.

Ιωερνις πολις επισημον. Kilmallock.	*Juernis urbs insignis.*

INHABITANTS.

NORTHERN TRIBES.

Ροβογδιοι.	ROBOGDII.
Ουεννικνιοι.	VENNICNII.

WESTERN TRIBES.

Ερδινοι, [*Pal.* addit οἱ και Ερπιτανοι].	ERDINI, *et* ERPI-[TANI.
Ναγνατοι.	NAGNATÆ.
Αυτηροι.	AUTERI.
Γαγγανοι.	GANGANI.
Ουελλαβοροι [*Pal.* add. οἱ δ' Ελλεβροι].	VELLABORI, [*qui et* ELLEBRI.]

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

Ουτερνοι. [*Pal.* Ιϛερνιοι].	UTERNI, [*Juerni*].
Ουοδιαι.	VODII, *vel* UDIÆ.
Βριγαντες.	BRIGANTES.

EASTERN TRIBES.

Κοριονδοι.	CORIONDI.
Μαναπιοι.	MANAPII.
Καυκοι.	CAUCI.
Βλανιοι. [*Pal.* Εϛλανοι].	BLANII, [*seu* EBLANI].
Ουολαντιοι.	VOLUNTII.
Δαρνιοι. [*Pal.* Δαρινοι].	DARNII, [*seu* DARINI].
Ροϛογδιοι.	ROBOGDII.

ISLES ADJACENT.

ON THE NORTHERN COAST.

Εϛαδαι. *Ebudæ.*

The Hebrides, or Western Isles.

Εϛαδα. *Ebuda*, 1.

Eust.

Εϛαδα. *Ebuda*, 2.

Lewis.

Ρικινα. *Richina.*

Rachline.

Μαλεος. *Maleos.*

Mull.

Επιδιον. *Epidium.*

Yla.

ON THE EASTERN COAST.

Μοναοιδα. *Monaœda.*

Menay, or Anglesey.

Μονα νησος. *Mona Insula.*
Isle of Man.
Εδορυ ερημος. *Edri deserta.*
Lambay, or Howth promontory.
Λιμνα ερημος. *Limni deserta.*
Lymen.

Considerably northward, *Ptolomy* notices another remarkable Island, *Θουλη, Thule,* in which he reckons the longest day 20 hours; which corresponds to the latitude of 63 deg. and 22 min., and most probably denotes the isle of *Shetland.*

Pytheas of *Maricilles* reckoned it six days' sail from *Britain,* northwards, and placed it in a latitude higher than the *Arctic* circle, or about 66½ degrees, corresponding to *Iceland!*

Quicquid audet in Historia Græcia mendax.

Colonization of Ireland.

From the foregoing survey, *Ireland* appears to have been a populous and a flourishing country of old, furnished with numerous cities, and inhabited by various tribes. The primitive names of places, rivers, cities, and tribes, preserved by *Ptolomy,* from the *Phœnician, Carthaginian,* and *Grecian* records, furnish a satisfactory clue, if carefully and skilfully traced, according to the rules of *etymological* criticism, for deve-

loping and discovering their origin, amid the changes of languages, and of settlements, introduced in the lapse of ages by commerce or conquest.* For the lineage of every people is most accurately traced in their primitive language, and the primitive language most faithfully preserved in their *topography*.

From these "ancient landmarks," connected with other historical and archæological documents, we may collect that *Ireland* was colonized from different quarters, by the *Phenicians*, the *Iberians*, and the *Celts*, as judiciously remarked by *O'Conor*:—Populi nempe origo, *Iberica* est, *Celtica*, et *Phœnicia*. Proleg. i. p. 58.

Of these various tribes, the *Phenicians* (including their *Carthaginian* and *Iberian*, or *Spanish* colonies,) appear to have settled principally on the southern and western coasts of *Ireland*; and the *Celtic* tribes, from *Gaul* to *Scandinavia*, northwards, on the eastern and northern coasts.

Thus we find *Herculis promontorium*, now "*Hartland* point," on the coast of *Cornwall* in

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* Nova *Urbium* fundamenta jaciuntur, nova *Gentium* nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, aut in accessionem validioris conversis, oriuntur. *Seneca*.

*Britain;** so called from the celebrated navigator, the *Tyrian Hercules;* famous in *Ireland* also, under the title of *Feni an fear saoidh,* "the *Phenician* wise man." He gave name likewise to the "*Pillars of Hercules;*" for so the mounts *Calpe* and *Abila,* on the European and African sides of the streights of *Gibraltar,* were early denominated. Of these pillars or mounts, *Calpe* seems to have taken its name from the promontory *Calpe,* near the city of *Heraclea,* not far from the Thracian *Bosporus,* or *Dardanelles,* on the *Euxine* sea, in *Pontus;* noticed by *Arrian* in his *Periplous.* See *Falconer*'s Translation and Dissertations, pp. 10, 11, 57; where it is observed, that "*Xenophon*'s description of the port of *Calpe,*† is an exact description of *Gibral-*

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* The name *Britain,* is compounded of *Bruit,* "Tin," and *Tan,* "Country," as abounding in this metal, especially in *Cornwall.*

† *Xenophon* thus describes it in his *Anabasis,* B. vii. p. 451. Hutchinson's Edit.

"The port of *Calpe* is situated in *Asiatic Thrace,* in the midway between *Byzantium* (or *Constantinople*) and *Heraclea,* on the right-hand, as you sail from the former to the latter. A promontory runs out into the sea, of which that part, which lies contiguous to the sea, is a craggy rock; in height, where it is lowest, not less than twenty fathoms. The neck of land, by which this promontory is joined to the continent, is about four hundred feet in breadth, and the space within the

tar, with the difference of the proportion of size in its respective parts."

Not far from *Gibraltar*, on the Atlantic, is Cape *St. Vincent*, formerly called *Promontorium sacrum;* and opposite to *Herculis promontorium*, on the Irish coast, is *Promontorium sacrum*, in Irish, *Carne sore* point, of the same import: for *carne*, derived evidently from the oriental קרן, *keren* or *kern*, signifying "a horn," is usually applied to those sacred mounts or high places, on which *Druidical* temples or altars are still found, both there and elsewhere. And *soire*

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neck is ample enough to afford habitation for ten thousand men. The port lies under the rock, on the western shore; and close to the sea flows a spring, plentifully supplied with fresh water; this spring is commanded by the rock. The place affords great plenty of timber, particularly such as is proper for shipbuilding, in great quantity and perfection, close to the sea."

The Greek word, Καλπη, is rendered by *Hesychius*, ὑδρια, ϛαμνος, "*a water pot, a pitcher*," probably from the resemblance of the shape of the port thereto. *Steph. Byzant.* says, there was both a city and a port of this name. The river is specified by *Apollonius* to be remarkable for its depth:—

Βαθυρειοντα τε Καλπιν.

Argonaut. ii. 661.

In ancient times, the names of places were significant, or expressive of their qualities.

signifies "the rising sun," or "the east," in *Irish;* corresponding to *Surya,* of the same import in *Sanscrit. Vallancey's* Essay, &c. p. 40.

The whole island indeed was called "*sacred,*" as we have seen, by the *Carthaginians,* from the *Samothracian* or *Phenician* rites celebrated there. And *Kilmallock,* the Irish name of the southern capital of Ireland, *Juernia,* "the temple of *Maloch,* or *Moloch,*" the sun; and *Athlone,* or *Atha-luan,* "the ford of the moon," high up on the river *Shannon,* as explained before, (Essay, p. 157), afford evidence of this.

If we proceed westward, from *Carnsore* point to *Kerry,* we find, in the name of that country, the mercantile nation by whom it was colonized: for *Ciaragh,* its Irish name, is derived from *Ciar,* "a merchant;" whence *Ciara-ban,* "a company of merchants," corresponding to the oriental *caravan,* of the same import, as remarked by *Vallancey.*

The river *Δουρ,* or *Dur,* in *Kerry,* most probably derived its name from the *Douro* or *Durius,* of *Iberia* or *Spain,* and both from *Δωρα, Dora,* an ancient and strong city of *Phenicia,* noticed by *Joshua;* which the *Manassites,* in whose lot it lay, were not able to subdue. Josh. xi. 2; xvii. 11, 12. Judg. i. 27. *Josephus* also remarks, that it is situate near mount *Carmel.* And we learn from *Timagenes Syrus,* cited by

Ammianus Marcellinus, that it sent out colonies under the *Tyrian Hercules,* which settled on the European coasts of the *(Atlantic)* ocean; as observed, *Rerum Hibernicarum,* &c. Proleg. i. p. 51.

Northward of the *Dur,* lies the river *Σηνος, Senus,* the largest in Ireland; whose modern name, "*Shannon,*" seems to be compounded of the Irish, *Scan Amhuin,* "the aged river," corresponding to the Latin, *Senis Amnis.* And it is remarkable, that *Sennon,* according to General *Vallancey,* is one of the names of the *Ganges;* whose divinity is called *Durga,* and her festival annually celebrated in *Hindostan;* corresponding to *Derg,* the divinity of the *Shannon,* whose name is preserved in the Irish, *Dearg art,* "the abode of *Derg,*" still retained by Lough *Derg,* the lower lake on the *Shannon.* There is no part of Ireland that abounds more in *Druidical* monuments and remains than this noble river, from its mouth to its source. On the island of *Ennis Catty,* commonly called *Scattery,** near *Kilrush,*

* On this island lived a celebrated *Irish* saint, *Sennan;* so denominated from the river, not the river from him, according to monkish tradition. He is said to have succeeded St. *Patrick* in the see of *Armagh,* according to his prophecy before the birth of *Sennan.*

Nascetur vobis parvulus
Futurus Dei famulus,

not far from its mouth, there stands a round tower, and the ruins of seven churches. A mystical number, in the diviner *Balaam*'s days. Numb. xxiii. 1. The upper lake, above *Killaloe*, called Lough *Rea*, was dedicated to the moon. *Ree*, in Irish, signifying "queen," and *Righ*, "king," corresponding to the Latin, *rex* and *regina*; both, probably, of oriental descent. Thus, the Egyptian title of the patriarch *Joseph*, when appointed regent of Egypt, אב רך. *Ab-rach* signifies "father of the king," as understood by the Chaldee paraphrast, on Gen. xli. 43. And the idol of *Sennacherib*, *Nis-roch*, signified "king of flight." 2 Kings xix. 37, corresponding to the Ζευς φυξιος, "God of flight," of the Greeks. Selden, Vol. II. p. 1491.

The primitive name of *Athlone*, preserved by *Ptolomy*, Ῥαιζα, *Rhœba*, bears a striking analogy to Ῥηζας, *Rhebas*, a river of *Pontus*, near the Thracian *Bosporus*, or *Dardanelles*, noticed by *Arrian* in his *Periplous*; and thus celebrated by *Dionysius Periegetes*, vers. 794—796:

Qui est *Sennanus* nomine:
In meo stabit ordine,
Mihi, Deo propitio,
Succedens Episcopo.

Harris's Ware. Vol. I. p. 34.

Ρηβας, ενθ' ερατεινον επιπροιησι ρεεθρον,
Ρηβας, ὁς Ποντοιο παρα ςοματεσσιν οδευει,
Ρηβας, ἑ καλλιςον επι χθονι συρεται ὑδωρ.

"The *Rhebas* here discharges its pleasant stream,
The *Rhebas*, which travels near the mouth of the *Pontus (Euxine)*,
The *Rhebas*, the fairest water that flows on earth."

And nothing indeed can be more strikingly descriptive of the beautiful river *Shannon*, at *Athlone;* where, in size, clearness, and winding course, it resembles the *Rhebas* of *Pontus:* which *Strabo* represents as "a winding stream;" and *Tournefort*, when he passed it in summer, found no larger than a brook. See *Falconer*'s *Arrian*, pp. 10—55.

Northward of the *Senus*, lies the river *Ausoba*, which runs into *Galway bay*. Here the Irish annals place a settlement of *Asob Gael-ibh*, "the noble merchant-tribe," as noticed in *Obrien*'s Dictionary: the first word, *asob*, "noble," evidently corresponding to the name of the river; and *Gael-ibh*, "the merchant-tribe," to *Gallive*, the Irish name of the town of *Galway*. *Ibh*, a a tribe, bears a striking analogy to the Chaldee אב, *aib*, of the same import, as remarked by *Vallancey;* and we may add, that the Lough *Gorrib*, from which the river *Ausoba*, or "*Suck*," issues, is naturally derived from the Hebrew or

Phenician, ערב *(Ereb)*, "evening, or western," the first guttural letter ע *(ain)* being frequently sounded like the letter *G*, as in the word *Gomorrah.*

Northward of the *Ausoba,* lay *Nagnata,* "a remarkable city" on the sea-coast; of which no traces are said to remain. However, with the prefix, *cuon,* signifying, in Irish, a "*port* or *harbour,*" it seems to have given name to the whole province of *Con-naght,* according to the ingenious conjecture of *Camden.* Hibernia, p. 665.

Of the several tribes inhabiting Ireland, according to *Ptolomy,* the *Brigantes,* on the southern coast, appear to have been descended from the *Iberian* or Spanish tribe of the same name, near *Corunna,* which was formerly called *Flavia Brigantum;* and with a fair southerly wind is not more than two days' sail from the Irish coast. Here was a remarkable *pharos* or lighthouse, said to be built by *Breogan,* the son of *Brath,* the lineal descendant of *Fenius,* and the grandfather of that *Milesius,* whose sons, *Heber* and *Heremon,* led a colony to Ireland, where they were called *Sleoght Breogan,* "the race of *Breogan.*"

The *Vellabori,* on the south-west coast of *Kerry,* strongly resemble the *Illiberi* of *Iberia* or Spain, and are denominated in Irish, *Siol*

Ebir, marking their descent as "the seed of *Eber*."

The *Gangani* also, on the western coast bordering on the *Senus*, appear to be descended from the *Concani*, a Spanish tribe of *Scythian* origin, who used to bleed their horses and drink their blood, according to the Latin poets:—

> Et lætum equino sanguine *Concani*.
>
> *Horat.*

> Et qui *Massagetum* monstrans feritate parentem,
> Cornipedis fusâ satiaris, *Concane*, venâ.
>
> *Silius Italicus.*

And the savage custom of bleeding their cattle, and mixing the blood with oatmeal in seasons of scarcity, is said to have been prevalent on the western coast of *Ireland*, not many years since.

The eastern coast of Ireland, above the *Brigantes*, northward, was inhabited by the *Manapii*; who were probably descended from the *Menapii*, a German tribe near *Brabant*; and *Weysford*, the old name of the town *Manapia*, or *Wexford* at present, indicates a *Saxon* origin, as recorded by the old poet *Necham*:

> Ditat *Enestorti* flumen quod *Slana* vocatur,
> Hunc cernit *Weisford* se sociare sibi.
>
> *Camden*, 660;

where *Slana* denotes the river *Slaney*, which runs by *Enniscorthy*.

Above the *Manapii* were the *Cauci*, who likewise appear to have been descended from another distinguished German tribe, the *Chauci*, settled on the banks of the river *Visurgis* or *Weser*, and stretching southwards, from the *Albis* or *Elbe*, to the *Rhenus* or *Rhine*. Of whom *Tacitus* gives the following honourable description: Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum *Chauci*, sed et implent: populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitiâ tueri: sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod ut superiores agant, non per injurias adsequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque. *Germania*, § 35.

"Such an immense tract of territory the *Chauci* not only occupy, but fill: a people the noblest among the *Germans*, who prefer, by justice, to support their greatness; without ambition, without passion. Quiet and retired, they provoke no wars; they lay waste no countries by rapine and robberies; and the principal proof of their virtue and power is, that they have attained the pre-eminence not by violence. All, however, are ready to take arms, and, if necessary, to raise a numerous army of infantry and cavalry."

And the maritime baronies of *Bargy* and *Forth*, in the county of *Wexford*, are still distinguished, for retaining their ancient Saxon dialect, and for their simplicity of manners and industry, from the adjoining districts.

The *Blanii* or *Eblani*, northward of the *Cauci*, were probably descended from the *Saxons*, or *Danes* of the *Chersonesus Cimbrica*, or *Jutland*; for *Eblana*, or *Dublin*, was the principal settlement of the *Ostmen*, afterwards, A.D. 807.

The northernmost tribes of the *Voluntii*, or *Uluntii*, in Irish *Ullaigt*; whence *Ulidia*, or the province of *Ulster*; and the *Darnii*, or *Darini*, whose original name is still preserved in the city of *Derry*, (or *Darry*, according to the broader pronunciation of the natives,) with the remaining tribes of the *Robogdii* and *Veninicnii*, were all probably descended from the parallel regions or climates of the continent. The *Robogdii*, perhaps, from *Robodunum*, or "*Brin*," in *Germany*. And their origin appears to be marked by their broad accent, sandy hair, and fair complexions, which remarkably distinguish them from the natives of the south and the west of *Ireland*.

The high antiquity of the successive colonizations of *Ireland*, beginning with the celebrated *Phenician* navigator, who explored the southern coasts of *Britain* and *Ireland*, may be collected

from the *Irish annals,* especially the valuable chronological poem of *Gillas Coemhain,* written in Irish, A. D. 1072, and first published, lately, with a Latin translation, by *O'Conor.* Prol. ii. pp. 31—42.

The Irish *Milesians* reckon twenty-three generations from *Feni an fear soid,* "the *Phenician wise man,*" their ancestor, to *Heber* and *Heremon,* the sons of *Milesius,* who established the last settlement from *Spain,* as observed before; which, at the usual computation of three mean generations to a century, would give 766 years from *Fenius* to *Heber.* But we learn from *Coemhain,* that "the sons of *Milesius* were coeval with *Solomon,* and that the *Gadelians* came to *Ireland* in the middle of the reign of this illustrious prince," B. C. 1002, according to the *Irish* chronology.* Counting backwards

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* In order to determine this cardinal date of ancient Irish history, it is necessary to premise a synopsis of

Coemhain's System of Chronology.

	Y.	B. C.
Creation	1656	3952
Deluge	292	2296
Abraham born	942	2004
David king	473	1062
Babylonish Captivity	589	589
Christian era	3952	1

therefore, from this date, 766 years, we get the time of *Fenius* about B.C. 1768. And this

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In this table, the first column contains the years elapsed between the succeeding events: thus, from the Creation, 1656 years to the Deluge; from the Deluge, 292 years to the birth of Abraham, &c.; and their amount, 3952 years, gives the basis of the system, or the years elapsed from the Creation to the vulgar Christian era. The second column gives the dates of these events before the Christian era.

David began to reign B.C. 1062; from which subducting 60 years, for the amount of his whole reign, 40 years, and 20 years, the half of *Solomon's*, we get B.C. 1002, for the date of the expedition of *Heber* and *Heremon* to *Ireland.*

This same number has been noticed by two earlier chronologers, *Marcus Anchoreta,* A.D. 647; and *Nennius,* A.D. 858; who both date the arrival of the *Scoti* in *Ireland,* "1002 years after the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites, in which the Egyptains were drowned." *O'Conor,* Proleg. ii. pp. 15, 45. The identity of the number, 1002, proves the mistake in the reference to the *exode of the Israelites,* instead of to the *Christian era;* which depresses the arrival of the *Scoti* five centuries too low. For *Coemhain* reckons the *exode* 502 years after the birth of Abraham, or B.C. 1502; from which subtracting 1002 years, the arrival of the *Scoti* would be reduced to B.C. 500; or, following *Usher's* date of the Deluge, B.C. 1491, *O'Conor* reduces it still lower, to B.C. 489.—Proleg. ii. p. 45. Upon the superior authority of *Coemhain* therefore, as a chronologer, we are warranted to rectify this important error of *Nennius,* and *Marcus Anchoreta,* which even Dr. *O'Conor* has failed to correct; not adverting to the foregoing inference from *Coemhain.* But he has happily furnished himself the materials for proving the error.

agrees with sacred and profane history: for *Joshua,* whose administration began B. C. 1608, according to *Hales*'s chronology, notices "the strong city of *Tyre,*" Josh. xix. 29, which maintained its independence even in *David*'s days, 2 Sam. xxiv. 7; and in *Solomon*'s, 1 Kings ix. 11—14. And *Herodotus,* that inquisitive traveller and intelligent historian, who visited *Tyre* about B. C. 448, saw there the temple of the *Thasian Hercules;* and another erected to him by the *Phenicians* at *Thasus* itself, an island on the coast of *Thrace,* while they were engaged in search of *Europa,* the daughter of *Agenor,* king of *Tyre,* who had been carried off by some Greeks. An event, says *Herodotus,* which happened five generations before the Grecian *Hercules,* the son of *Amphitryon,* B. ii. § 44; who flourished about 900 years before he wrote, § 145, or about B.C. 1348; to which, adding 166 years for the five generations, we get the

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He states, that 118 kings of the *Scoti* reigned, till the arrival of St. *Patrick,* B.C. 489 + A.D. 432 = 921 years in all, which, divided by 118, would give too short an average of reigns, only $7\frac{9}{11}$ years a-piece; whereas the true interval, B.C. 1002 + A.D. 432 = 1434 years, would give the average of reigns, above twelve years a-piece; which he justly represents as the standard, from *Patrick* to *Malachy* ii, viz. 48 reigns in 590 years.—Prolog. ii. p. 15.

rape of *Europa* about B.C. 1514. But the deification of the *Thasian Hercules* must have been after his death; which may make him the contemporary of *Joshua*, or even earlier. *Herodotus* relates, that the *Tyrians* themselves boasted of the remote antiquity of their city, founded, as they said, 2300 years before (B. ii. 44), which would carry it higher than the Deluge! The high antiquity, however, of *Sidon* and her daughter *Tyre*, was acknowledged by *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, when he invaded *Greece*, B. C. 480; and in a council of his naval commanders, gave precedence of rank to their kings. B. viii. § 67.

Waving the expeditions of *Partholanus* to *Ireland* in *Abraham*'s days, and of *Nemesius* in *Jacob*'s days, which *O'Conor* judiciously rejects as fabulous (Proleg. ii. p. 25), the third expedition was that of the *Firbolgs* (viri *Belgæ)* of the Irish annals, who established themselves in the south of *Ireland*, according to *Coemhain*, 200 years after the passage of the Red Sea, B.C. 1502—200 = B.C. 1302.

The fourth expedition of the *Damnonians*, *Menapians*, and *Brigantes* of *Britain*, accompanied by the *Tuatha Du Danaan*, "the diviners of *Dedanim*," noticed Essay, p. 151, formed a settlement in Ireland, and conquered the *Firbolgs*, in the famous battle of *Moy tura*, or

" field of the tower," in *Connaught*, 80 years after the arrival of the *Firbolgs*, or B.C. 1222.

These *Tuatha Danaan* appear to be described by Sir *Isaac Newton*, as " *a sort of men* skilled in the *religious mysteries, arts,* and *sciences* of *Phœnicia;* who accompanied the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians,* conquered by *David,* that fled from their country, and settled in *Crete, Lybia,* &c. and introduced letters, music, poetry, and the fabrication of metals, &c. under several leaders, *Phœnix, Cadmus,* &c.—*Newton's Short Chronicle,* An. B. C. 1045.

The fifth expedition of the *Scoti, Gadelians,* or *Milesians,* from Spain, under the conduct of *Heber* and *Heremon,* was in the middle of *Solomon*'s reign, B.C. 1002,* according to *Coemhain.* They established themselves in Ireland, and drove the *Damnonians* into *Connaught;* a part of which was called *Erros Damnoniorum* by *Adamnanus,* in the sixth century, and still retains the name of the barony of *Erris,* bordering on the western ocean.

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* " *Kinea Scuit,* the posterity of the *Iberian Scoti,* who settled in *Spain,* came to *Ireland* about a *thousand* years before Christ."——*Charles O'Conor,* Esq.——*Vallancey*'s Essay, &c. p. 171.

A hundred years after this expedition, or B.C. 902, *Tigernmach,* king of Ireland, introduced the *worship of idols, Crum Cruagh,* &c. in addition to the former adoration of the heavenly host, or *sabianism,* of the primitive *Druids* or Diviners.—Essay, p. 160.

The Irish annalists, *Coemhain, Modudius,* &c. reckoned 136 kings of Ireland to *Loagaire,* in the fourth year of whose reign St. *Patrick* came to Ireland, A. D. 432; of which number, 9 were *Firbolgs,* 9 *Damnonians,* and 118 *Scoti,* or *Milesians.* Whence it appears, that they reigned, on an average, only about *twelve years a-piece* (*O'Conor,* Proleg. ii. p. 45); and consequently, that the state of society was then unsettled and turbulent, from the shortness of their reigns, below the usual standard of 22 years.—See *Hales' Chronology,* Vol. I. pp. 302—305.

II.

ANCIENT PILLARS IN PALESTINE, AND ROUND TOWERS IN IRELAND.

In the Essay, p. 161, was given an account, extracted from the judicious *Maundrel's* Travels, of an ancient *Phœnician* temple, cut out of the solid rock, which he saw on the sea-coast, a little southward of *Aradus*, in the neighbourhood of *Tripoli;* and about half a mile to the southward of it, two round pillars, represented by A and B in the plate, with sepulchral monuments underneath each.

He describes the pillar (A) as thirty-three feet high. Its longest stone or pedestal was ten feet high, and fifteen square: the superstructure upon which was, first a tall stone in form of a cylinder, and then another stone cut in the shape of a pyramid.

The other pillar (B) was thirty feet two inches high. Its pedestal was in height six feet, and sixteen feet six inches square. It was supported by four lions carved one at each corner of the pedestal. The carving had been very rude at the best, but was now rendered by time much worn. The upper part reared upon the pedestal was all

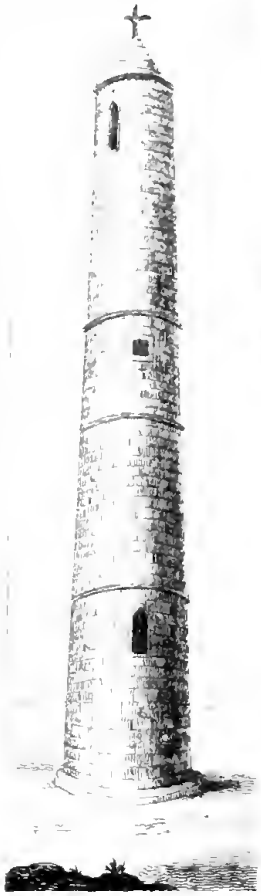
on the Coast of PALESTINE.

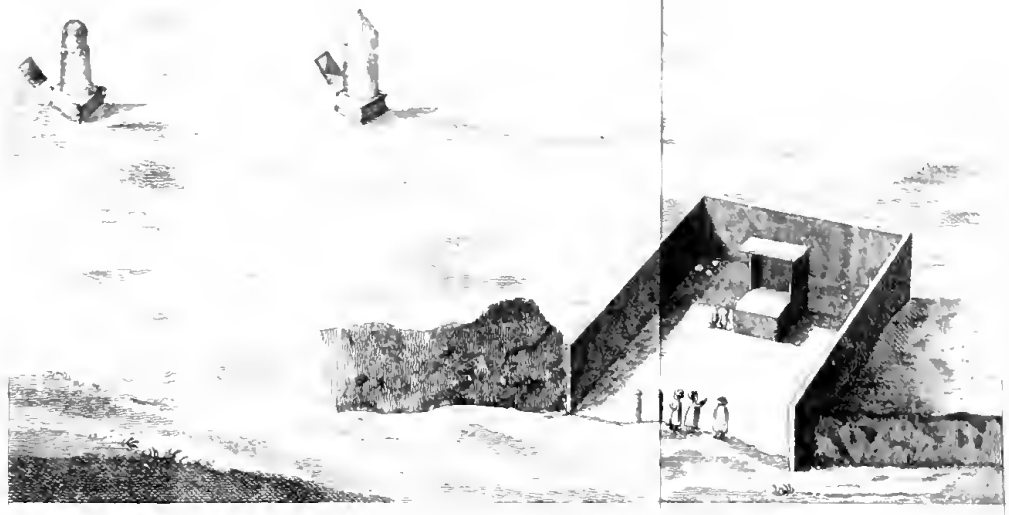
Pl. 2.

An Ancient Temple *and* two Round Pillars *near* Tripoli *on the Coast of* PALESTINE.

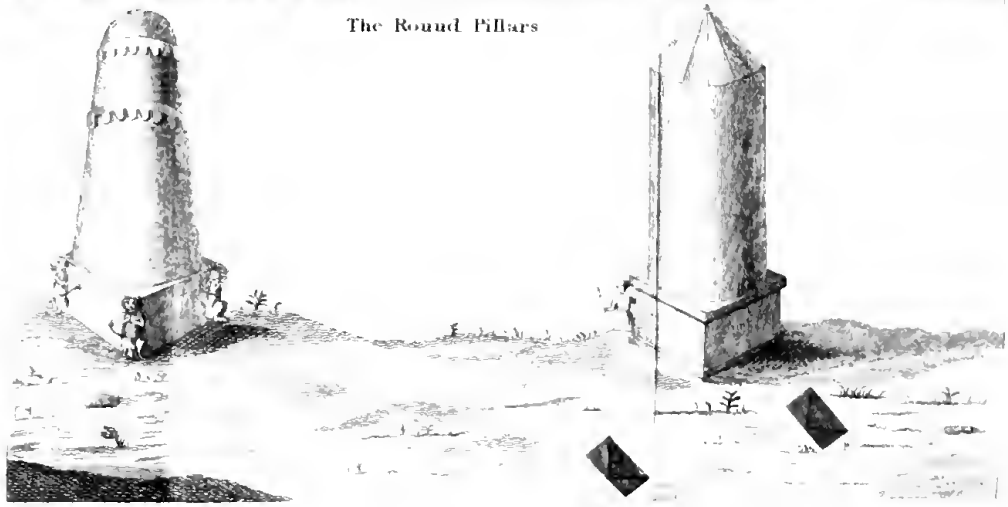
Pl. 2

Round Tower *of* Ardmore
Co. Waterford IRELAND.

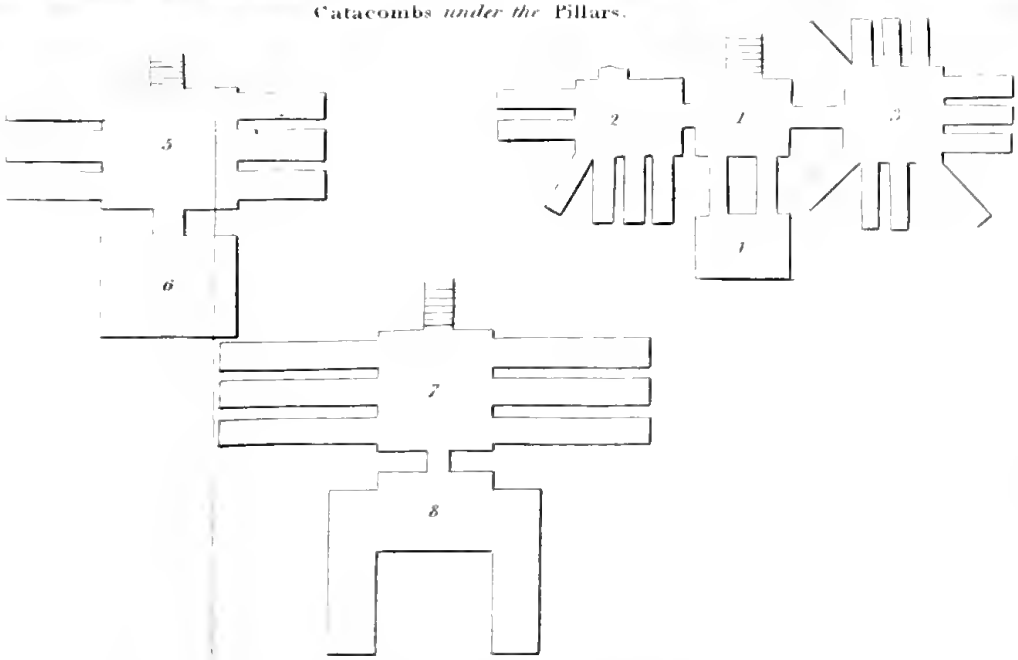




The Round Pillars



Catacombs *under the* Pillars.



one single stone, in fashion as is represented in the figure (B), Plate II.

Each of these pillars had under it several sepulchres, the entrances into which were on the south side. "It cost us," says he, "some time and pains to get into them; the avenues being obstructed, first with briars and weeds, and then with dirt. But however we removed both these obstacles, encouraging ourselves with the hopes, or rather making ourselves merry with the fancy of hidden treasure. But as soon as we were entered into the vaults, we found that our golden imaginations ended (as all worldly hopes and projects do at last) in dust and putrifaction. But however, that we might not go away without some reward for our pains, we took as exact a survey as we could of those *chambers of darkness;* which were disposed in such manner as is expressed in the following figures.

"The chambers under the pillar (A), lay as is represented in the figures (1, 2, 3, 4). Going down seven or eight steps, you come to the mouth of the sepulchre; when crawling in, you arrive in the chamber (1), which is nine feet two inches broad, and eleven feet long. Turning to the right hand, and going through a narrow passage, you come to the room (2), which is eight feet broad and ten long. In this chamber are seven cells for corpses; viz. two over against

the entrance, four on the left-hand, and one unfinished on the right: these cells were hewn directly into the firm rock. We measured several of them, and found them eight feet and a half in length, and three feet three inches square. I would not infer from hence, that the corpses deposited here were of such *gigantic* size as to fill up such large coffins; though, at the same time, why should any men be so prodigal of their labour as to cut these caverns into so hard a rock as this was, much farther than necessity required?

"On the other side of the chamber (1) was a narrow passage seven feet long, leading into the room (3), whose dimensions were nine feet in breadth, and twelve in length. It had eleven cells of somewhat a less size than the former, lying at equal distances all round about it.

"Passing out of the room (1) foreright, you have two narrow entrances, each seven feet long, into the room (4.) This room was nine feet square: it had no cells in it like the others, nor any thing else remarkable, but only a bench cut all along its side on the left-hand. From the description of this sepulchre, it is easy to conceive the disposition of the other under the pillar (B), which is represented in the figures (5, 6). The heights of the rooms in both was about six feet; and the pillars were built each over the innermost

room of the sepulchres to which it belonged; namely, (A) over (4), and (B) over (6).

"At about the distance of a furlong from this place, we discerned another pillar, resembling this last described. It was erected likewise over a sepulchre, of which you have the delineation in the figures (7) and (8). There was this singularity observable in this last sepulchre, that its cells were cut into the rock, eighteen feet in length; possibly to the intent, that two or three corpses might be deposited in each of them at the feet of one another. But having a long stage to *Tripoli*, we thought it not seasonable to spend any more time in this place, which might perhaps have afforded us several other antiquities.

"And yet for all our haste, we had not gone a mile, before our curiosity was again arrested by the observation of another tower, which appeared in a thicket not far from the way-side. It was thirty-three feet and a half high, and thirty-one feet square; composed of huge square stones, and adorned with a handsome cornice all round at top. It contained only two rooms, one above another; into both which there were entrances on the *north* side, through two square holes into the wall. The separation between both rooms, as also the covering at the top, was made not of arched work, but of vast flat

stones; in thickness four feet, and of so great an extent, that two of them in each place sufficed to spread over the whole fabric. This was a very ancient structure, and probably a place of sepulchre."—*Maundrel*'s Journal, &c. pp. 21—23. An admirable work indeed, which well deserves the eulogy of Bishop *Newton* on Prophecy, Vol. I. p. 349. "*Maundrel*'s *Journal*, though a little book, is yet worth a folio; being so accurately and ingeniously written, that it may serve as a model for all writers of travels."

Curiosity is naturally led to inquiry: for *what purpose*, by *whom*, and at *what time*, were these extraordinary excavations made?

I shall attempt to answer each inquiry in order.

1. That they were intended solely for *human* sepulchres, as imagined by *Maundrel*, may well be doubted. If the pillars placed over them were consecrated to the *Baals*, the *sun* and *moon*, as is highly probable, for the reasons mentioned in the *Essay*, pp. 162, 163, is it unlikely that the catacombs were destined for the sepulture of those *animals* whom the pagans considered as emblems of their divinities; the *bull* and the *heifer*, the *serpent*, the *dragon* or *crocodile*, and the whole train of *bestial* gods, that disgraced the most polished nations of antiquity, the *Egyptians*, the *Indians*, &c.? The extraordi-

nary size of some of the cells, which excited the wonder of *Maundrel*, so unnecessary, indeed, if designed only for the reception of human corpses, were well and adequately fitted for the sepulchres of their sacred *bulls* and *heifers*; and these, in the last catacomb especially, of eighteen feet in length, for the reception of dead *crocodiles*.

The *Labyrinth* of *Egypt*, which *Herodotus* saw and admired so highly, even more than the *pyramids* themselves, contained as he was told, in its subterranean chambers or vaults, which he was not permitted to enter, "the bodies of the *kings* who built the Labyrinth, and also of the *sacred crocodiles*." B. ii. § 148. And *Savary*, in searching for the Labyrinth, remarks, that "amidst the ruins of the towns of *Caroun*, the attention is particularly fixed by several narrow, low, and very long cells, which seem to have had no other use than that of containing the bodies of the *sacred crocodiles*: these remains can only correspond with the *labyrinth*." *Beloe's Herodot.* Vol. II. p. 84, note. And it is now ascertained beyond a doubt, that the great *pyramids* of *Geeza* were the sepulchres, not merely of their kings, as *Herodotus* imagined, but principally of their sacred bulls, the *Apis* or *Mnevis*. The great, or first pyramid, attributed to *Cheops*, has been long opened, even before the time of *Herodotus*; but nothing is

now found in the large sarcophagus of the great chamber, so unnecessarily large for the human figure. The second pyramid, attributed to *Cephrenes*, after having been closed for ages, and long supposed to be solid, ever since the *Egyptian* priests informed *Herodotus*, that only the pyramid of *Cheops* contained chambers in its interior, (B. ii. § 126), has been opened lately by M. *Belzoni*, an enterprizing Italian traveller, who found the great chamber, in the center of the pyramid, 46 feet 3 inches long, 16 feet 3 inches wide, and 23 feet 6 inches high; in the midst of which was a sarcophagus of granite, 8 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 3 inches deep, inside. The lid of it had been opened.* In it M. *Belzoni* observed a few bones of a *human* skeleton, as he supposed, belonging to *Cephrenes*, the reputed builder of this pyramid. Shortly after the opening of this pyramid, March 2, 1818, Major *Fitzclarence*, in his journey overland from *India* to *Cairo*, visited the central chamber, and brought away a few fragments of the bones in the sarcophagus; and among the rest, one, which proved to be the

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* From M. *Belzoni*'s researches it appears that this second pyramid had been opened, during the reign of the Sultan *Ali Mahomet* I. of the Saracen dynasty, from an Arabic inscription on the wall of the western side of the great chamber.

lower extremity of the thigh bone, where it comes in contact with the knee joint. This singular relic was presented by him to the *Prince Regent,* who submitted it to the inspection of that eminent surgeon, Sir *Everard Home.* Sir Everard, entertaining no doubt of its being part of a human skeleton, took it to the Museum of the College of Surgeons, that by adjusting it to the same part of different sized skeletons, he might be enabled to form some estimate of the comparative stature of the ancient *Egyptians* and modern *Europeans.* On a closer and more laborious inspection, however, the fragment was found to agree with none of them; and it finally appeared, that instead of forming any part of the thigh bone of a *human* subject, it actually made part of that of a *cow,* [or *bull*].

And to corroborate this curious evidence, M. *Belzoni,* in making researches among the ruins of *Thebes* in *Upper Egypt,* some time before, discovered a grand catacomb in the valley, known by the name of *Biban el Moluk, "the tombs* (or rather *gates*) *of the king,"* which extended 309 feet from the front entrance to the innermost chamber, the whole cut out of the living rock. The sides of the rock were as white as snow, and covered with paintings of well-shaped figures, *al fresco,* as fresh as if they had been laid on the day before the opening was

made, and with hieroglyphics quite perfect. In one of the numerous chambers of this catacomb, he discovered an exquisitely beautiful sarcophagus of alabaster, nine feet five inches long by three feet nine inches wide, and two feet and an inch high, carved within and without with hieroglyphics and figures in intaglio, nearly in a perfect state, sounding like a bell, and as transparent as glass. From the extraordinary magnificence of this tomb, M. *Belzoni* conceives that it must be the depository of the remains of *Apis;* in which idea he is the more confirmed, by having found the carcass of a *bull* embalmed with *asphaltum,* in the innermost chamber.

From this, and other specimens at the temple of *Ipsambul,* in *Nubia,* above the second cataract of the Nile, this intelligent, enterprizing, and most meritorious traveller justly collected, that "the arts, as practised in *Egypt,* descended from *Ethiopia :* the style of the sculpture being in several respects superior to any thing that has yet been found in *Egypt.*" The whole of this interesting account is briefly extracted from the last number of the *Quarterly Review,* XXXVII, September 1818, in the article of *Light's Travels in Egypt and Nubia,* and its *addendum,* p. 230.

These luminous observations remove every shadow of doubt respecting the purpose for which the *Palestine* catacombs were made. And it is

remarkable, that in the third catacomb, beside the lateral cells, 18 feet long, in the anti-chamber (7), there are two in the inner chamber (8), which appear to be twice as wide as the former. In the square tower also, noticed by him, with two chambers, an upper and a lower, cieled with enormous stones; these are of a size and cieling corresponding to the chambers of the great pyramids of *Egypt;* while the entrances of all placed on the *north* side, (which is observable also in the round towers in *Ireland* and elsewhere), furnish all together the strongest presumptive evidence, that all were the workmanship of some very ancient and polished people, or their colonies; declining in grandeur and magnificence, according as they diverged, in process of time, from their prime central establishment. And *who* that original people were, may be collected from the records of ancient nations still subsisting.

2. *Herodotus* observes, that though the priests attributed the building of the great pyramids to three *Egyptian* kings, *Cheops*, *Cephrenes*, and *Mycerinus*, yet the people ascribed them to a shepherd, *Philitis*, who, *at that time*, fed his cattle in those places." B. ii. § 128. And *Manetho* the Egyptian priest, in his dynasties, informs us, that the native Egyptians were conquered and enslaved by a nation coming from *Arabia*, called

ΥΚ-ΣΩΣ (*Uk-sōs*), "*King-Shepherds;*" who miserably oppressed the natives, under a dynasty of six kings of their race; and from whom the isthmus of *Suez*, (Σως, or Σωες), by which they came, seem to have derived its name. And from the *Vedas*, or Sanscrit records of *Hindustan*, we learn that these invaders were the *Pali*, or *Palli*, signifying "Shepherds" in that language; a powerful, warlike, and enterprizing *Indian* tribe, who invaded *Egypt*, and, during their dominion, are said to have raised *three mountains*, called *Rucm-adri*, "the mount of *gold*," *Rajat-adri*, "the mount of silver," and *Retu-adri*, the mount of *gems;*" figuratively denoting these *factitious* mountains, and stupendous monuments of tyranny and ostentation, the pyramids of *Geeza;* which were originally cased, or coated with *yellow*, *white*, and *spotted* marbles, brought from the quarries of *Arabia;* until stripped by the rapacity of succeeding ages. The casing, however, of the upper part of the second pyramid, still remains entire, (as appears from M. *Belzoni*'s drawing of it,) about a third of the distance downwards from the summit to the base. See *Wilford*'s Dissertation on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. p. 225, or *Hales's New Analysis of Chronology*, Vol. III. p. 459.

The original settlement of this warlike, enterprizing, and roving race of "*Shepherds*," may

be traced to *Shinaar*, in *Mesopotamia;* whence they diverged, as from a common centre, in various directions, and formed settlements, by trade or conquest, throughout *Asia*, *Africa*, *Europe*, and even *America;* under the several denominations of *Cushites* or *Cuthites*, *Indo-Scythæ*, *Pali*, *Pelasgi*, *Phenicians*, &c. We find them in the *Pali*, or "Shepherds" of Asiatic *Ethiopia;* and the *Berberi*, or "Shepherds" of African Ethiopia or *Abyssinia;* in the plains of *Sennaar* in *Nubia*, evidently denominated from the original settlement; in the *Uksos*, or "King-Shepherds" of *Egypt;* in the *Pali-sthan*, or "Shepherd-land" of *Palestine;* in the town of *Palibothra*, or *Pali-Putra*, on the *Hellespont;* in the *Pelasgi*, of *Greece* and *Italy;* whom Homer describes as an Asiatic tribe, auxiliaries of the *Trojans*, coming from *Larissa*, on the *Tigris*, Iliad ii. 347; x. 429; (the site, probably, of "the great city *Resen*," built by *Nimrod*, Gen. x. 12), and whom *Virgil* also represents of *Lydian* descent, the early colonists of *Latium* and *Hetruria* in *Italy*, Æneid vii. 479—602, who built the town of *Philistia* on the *Po;* and introduced the *Palilia*, or worship of *Pales*, the goddess of shepherds, Georg. iii. 1.

All these appear to have been descended from the primitive family of *Cush*, the eldest son of *Ham*, Gen. x. 6; whose descendant, *Nimrod*, "the rebel," built the tower of *Babel*, Gen. x. 10;

the first temple consecrated to the *Sabian* idolatry, or worship of the "host" of heaven, the sun, moon, and stars; and the prototype, or original model, of the pyramids of *Egypt*, the primitive pagodas of *Hindustan*, and of *Mexico*, &c. as the primary *Mithratic* caves of *Persia* or *Iran*, formed by the primitive *Magi*, likewise appear to have given rise to the *Labyrinth* of Egypt, the stupendous subterranean temples of the *Thebaid*, and those of *Elephanta*, *Ellore*, &c. in Hindustan. See the rise and progress of the *Sabian* Idolatry, ingeniously traced, by that learned antiquary *Faber*, in his elaborate work on the *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, 3 vols. 4to. 1816.

3. The *Pali*, *Uk-sos*, or '*Shepherd*-dynasty,' conquered Egypt, about B.C. 2159, and held it 260 years; when, after a long and severe struggle, they were at length expelled by the native *Egyptian* powers, about B.C. 1899, and settled along the eastern coast of the *Mediterranean* sea; where they destroyed the native *Avim*, or *Avites*, "when they came out of *Caphtor*," or lower Egypt, Deut. ii. 23; and became, and were called afterwards, "the *Philistines*, the remnant of the country of *Caphtor*," Jer. xlvii. 4; thus preserving in their name, and in their new settlements, the remembrance of their *Asiatic* origin. See *Hales's Chronology*, Vol. iii. pp. 448—462.

Hence we seem warranted to conclude, that these catacombs might have been formed by the *Philistines*, after the period of their expulsion from *Egypt*, B.C. 1899, if not of an earlier date.

II. The *round pillars* of *Baal*, most probably gave rise to the larger *round towers*, found in *Ireland* and elsewhere. The tower of *Ardmore* is here copied from a drawing by General *Vallancey*, in *Collectanea*, Vol. vi. Part I. pp. 136, 218. And I have cited in the *Essay*, p. 164, his decided opinion, that they were *fire-towers*, consecrated to the *Sun*, and built by the first *Phœnician* settlers in Ireland; of whom we may reckon the *Feni an fear saoid*, "the *Phœnician wise man*," or *Tyrian Hercules*, to be the leader, about B.C. 1768, as stated in the foregoing number of this *Appendix*.

Some sceptics, with more pertinacity than proof, have disputed the high antiquity of these towers; and supposed that they were erected by the *Danes*, while they held possessions in *Ireland*, for two centuries, from their first piratical invasion, A.D. 797, to their final defeat at *Clontarf*, near Dublin, A.D. 1014.

But on the contrary, in all *Scandinavia*, the original country of the *Danes* and *Ostmen*, there is not a single vestige of these columnar towers. Nor do the *Danish* writers describe them as exist-

ing in the countries round the *Baltic* sea; nor state, that they were erected by *Ostmen*, in any of their foreign settlements or conquests. The *Danes*, surely, were longer in possession of a considerable portion of *England* than of *Ireland*; and yet nothing like them was ever seen therein. In *Scotland*, indeed, there are two: one at *Brechin*, and another at *Abernethy*: but they are smaller than the *Irish*, and seem to have been built after their model at a comparatively recent period.* In *Ireland*, at present, there are about ten of these towers to be seen, nearly entire; and the ruins and vestiges of forty more; beside others, which appear to be totally destroyed, and are only remembered to have existed. A very large and entire tower was removed, a few years ago, from the church of *Downpatrick*, as necessary to its enlargement and repairs: so that, in fact, these structures must have been numerously distributed over the whole island; more so, it seems, than in any other country of the same dimensions.

For these remarks we are indebted to the *New Monthly Magazine*, September 1818, p. 106.

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* On the lintels of these towers there is a *crucifixion* sculptured, which proves that they were erected after the Christian era. But there are no signs of any such emblems on the ancient *Irish* towers.

III.

S. PATRICII CONFESSIO, SIVE EPISTOLA AD HIBERNOS,

EX *CODICE COTTONIANO*, ANNORUM SALTEM 800, CUM *ARDMACHANO* ANNORUM 1000, COLLATA, ATQUE EDITA A *CAROLO O'CONOR*, S.T.D.

1. Ego *Patricius* peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium, et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos, patrem habui *Calpurnium* diaconum, filium quondam *Potiti* presbyteri, qui fuit in vico *Banavan Taberniæ*: villulam enim prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi. Annorum eram tum fere xvi. Deum vero ignorabam, et *Hyberione* in captivitate adductus sum, cum tot millibus hominum, secundum merita nostra, quia a Deo recessimus, et præcepta ejus non custodivimus, et sacerdotibus nostris inobedientes fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant: et Dominus induxit super nos iram animationis suæ, et dispersit nos in gentibus multis, etiam usque ad ultimum terræ; ubi nunc parvitas mea esse videtur inter alienigenas. Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meæ, ut vel sero rememorarem delicta mea; et, ut converterer toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum: qui respexit

humilitatem meam, et misertus est adulescentiæ* et ignorantiæ meæ, et custodivit me antequam saperem, vel distinguerem inter bonum et malum; et munivit me et consolatus est me, ut pater filium.

2. Unde autem tacere non possum, neque expedit quidem, tanta beneficia, et tantam gratiam quam mihi (DOMINUS præstare)† dignatus est in terrâ captivitatis meæ; quia hæc est retributio nostra, ut, post correptionem, ad agnitionem Domini exaltaremur, et *confiteremur mirabilia ejus coram omni natione* quæ est sub omni cœlo:— Quia non *est* alius Deus, nec unquam *fuit*, nec *erit* post hunc,‡ *præter* DEUM PATREM, *ingenitum, sine principio, a quo est omne principium, omnia tenentem (ut diximus): et Hujus filium*, JESUM CHRISTUM; *quem, cum Patre scilicet, fuisse semper, testamur, ante originem seculi, spiritualiter apud Patrem;* inenarrabiliter *genitum ante omne principium; et per Ipsum facta sunt* [omnia] *visibilia et invisibilia; hominem factum; devictâ morte, in cœlos ad Patrem receptum; et*

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* *Adulescentiæ* for *adolescentiæ*. In ancient MSS. before the close of the sixth century, the letter *u* was frequently substituted for *o*; *epistula* for *epistola*, &c.

† The words included between brackets, are wanting in the *Cod. Armagh*.

‡ *Posthunc* for *posthac*. See the translation of this *Confession*, SECT. VI.

*dedit Illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen, cœlestium et terrestrium, et infernorum, ut omnis lingua confiteatur quia** *Dominus* et Deus *est Jesus Christus: Quem credimus, et expectamus adventum ipsius, mox futurus Judex vivorum et mortuorum; qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua: et infundit in nobis abunde* SPIRITUS SANCTI *donum, et pignus immortalitatis; qui facit credentes et obedientes ut sint filii Dei Patris, et cohæredes Christi: quem confitemur, et adoramus,* UNUM DEUM IN TRINITATE SACRI NOMINIS.— Ipse enim dixit per prophetam, '*Invoca Me in die tribulationis tuæ et liberabo te, et magnificabis Me.*' (Ps. l. 15.) Et iterum inquit, '*Opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri, honorificum est.*' Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto *fratres* et *cognatos meos* scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perspicere votum animæ meæ. Non ignoro testimonium Domini mei, qui in Psalmo testatur, '*Perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium,*' (Ps. v. 6.) et iterum, '*Os quod mentitur occidit animam.*' (Wisd. i. 11.) Et idem Dominus in Evangelio inquit, '*Verbum otiosum quod locuti sunt homines, reddent pro eâ rationem in die judicii,*' (Matt. xii. 36.) unde autem vehementer [debueram] cum timore et tremore metuere hanc

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* *Quia* is generally used by *Patrick* in the sense of *quod*, "that."

sententiam, in die illâ, ubi nemo poterit se *subtrahere vel abscondere;* sed *omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem,* etiam minimorum *peccatorum ante tribunal Christi Domini.* (Job xxxiv. 22; Rom, xiv. 10. 12; 2 Cor. v. 10, 11.)

3. Quapropter, *olim* cogitavi [ad *vos*] scribere, sed usque nunc hæsitavi: Timui enim ne inciderem in linguam * hominum. Et qui non legi, sicut cæteri, qui optime, itaque jure [legerunt], et *sacras literas* utroque pari modo † combiberunt; et sermonem illorum ex infantiâ nunquam mutaverunt, sed magis ad perfectum, semper addiderunt. Nam sermo et loquela nostra [*Hiberna*] translata est in linguam alienam [scilicet *Latinam*]; sic ut facile potest probari ex *salivâ* ‡ *scripturæ meæ,* qualiter § sum ego in sermonibus instructus, atque eruditus: quia, inquit Sapiens, '*per linguam dignoscitur et sensus et scientia et doctrina varietatis.*' (Ecclus. iv. 24.)

Sed quid prodest excusatio juxta veritatem, præsertim cum præsumptione? quatenus modo

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* *Linguam hominum,* i. e. contumeliam, "*reproach.*"

† *Utroque pari modo,*—in the *originals,* as well as in the *versions.*

‡ *Saliva scripturæ meæ*—"the drivelling of my writing."

§ *Qualiter,* &c.—"how little I am instructed and skilled in composition."

ipse appeto in senectute mea, quod in juventute, quia obstiterunt (peccata mea) ut confirmarem quod ante non perlegeram. Sed quis me credit, etsi dixero? (quod ante præfatus sum) adulescens, imo pene puer imberbis, capturam dedi, antequam scirem quid peterem, vel quid vitare debueram. Unde ego hodie *erubesco*, et *vehementer pertimeo, denudare imperitiam meam*, quia disertis brevitate sermonis explicare nequeo. Sicut enim Spiritus gestit, et animus et sensus monstrat affectus. Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut cæteris, veruntamen non silerem propter retributionem: etsi forte videtar apud aliquantos, me in hoc præponere, cum mea *inscitia* et *tardiori linguâ*. Sed scriptum est, '*Linguæ balbutientes velocitir discent loqui pacem*,' (Isa. xxxii. 4.) quanto magis nos adpetere debemus, *qui sumus*, ut inquit, '*epistola Christi*; in salute, usque ad ultimum terræ: etsi non diserta [verba protuli] sed rata, et fortissime scripta in cordibus vestris, '*non atramento, sed Spiritu Dei vivi*.' (2 Cor. iii. 3.) Et iterum Spiritus testatur, '*et rusticatio ab Altissimo creata est*.' (Ecclus. vii. 15.)

4. Unde ego primus, *rusticus perfuga*, indoctus scilicet, qui nescio in posterum providere:—sed scio illud certissime, quia utique priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis qui jacet in luto profundo, et venit qui POTENS EST, et in suâ

misericordiâ sustulit me, et quidem scilicet sursum adlevavit, et collocavit me in summo pariete; et inde fortiter debueram exclamare, ad retribuendum quoque aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficiis ejus, hic et in æternum, quæ mens hominum æstimare non potest: unde autem admiramini, magni et pusilli, qui timetis DEUM; et vos ignari DOMINI, *rhetorici* ex *Gallicis*,* audite ergo et scrutamini. Quis *me stultum* excitavit de medio eorum qui videntur *sapientes* esse et legis periti, et potentes in sermone, et in omni re? et *me* quidem, *detestabilem hujus mundi* præ cæteris, inspiravit, si talis essem? Dummodo autem ut cum metu et reverentia, et sine querela fideliter prodessem Genti [*Hibernæ*] ad quam charitas CHRISTI transtulit et donavit me, in vita mea; si dignus fuero, denique, ut cum humilitate veraciter deservirem illis.

In mensura itaque fidei TRINITATIS, oportet distinguere sine reprehensione periculi, notum facere donum DEI et consolationem æternam sine timore, fiducialiter Dei nomen (*nomine*) ubique expandere; ut etiam *post obitum meum, Gallicis* relinquerem *fratribus*,† *et filiis meis* [*Hiber-*

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* These seem to be *scoffers*, whom he met in the course of his early travels, in *Gaul*.

† The *Gallic monks*, under *Martin* of *Tours*, and *Germanus*; with whom *Patrick* associated for many years.—See *Essay*, p. 118.

nis] quos ego in DOMINO *baptizavi, tot millia* hominum. Et non eram dignus, neque talis, ut hoc DOMINUS servulo suo concederet, *post ærumnas,* ac *tantas moles, post captivitatem, post annos multos,* in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret, quod ego aliquando in juventute mea, nunquam speravi nec cogitavi.

5. Sed postquam *Hiberionem* deveneram, quotidie (igitur) pecora pascebam, et frequens in die orabam; magis ac magis accedebat amor DEI et timor Ipsius, et fides augebatur, et spiritus augebatur, [adeo] ut in *die una* usque ad *centum orationes* [orabam], et *in nocte,* prope similiter: ut etiam in *silvis* et *monte* manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem *per gelu, per pluviam,* et nihil mali sentiebam, neque ulla pigritia erat in me, ut modò video, quia tunc in me SPIRITUS fervebat.

6. Et ibi scilicet quadam nocte, in somno audivi vocem dicentem mihi, '*Bene jejunas, cito iturus ad patriam tuam:*' Et iterum, post paululum tempus, '*Ecce navis tua parata est.*' Et non erat prope, sed forte habebat *ducenta milia passus.** Et ibi nunquam fueram, nec ibi notum quenquam de hominibus habebam.

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* "*Milia passus,*" *Irish* phraseology, for *millia passuum,* "miles."

Et deinde postmodum conversus sum in fugam, et intermisi hominem [*Milchonem*] cum quo fueram *sex annis:* Et veni in virtute DOMINI, qui vitam meam ad bonum dirigebat, et nihil metuebam, donec perveni ad navem illam. Et illa die quo perveni, profecta est navis de loco suo: et locutus sum, '*ut* [pecuniam non] *haberem, unde navigarem cum illis:*' Et gubernatori displicuit, et acriter cum indignatione respondit, '*Nequaquam tu nobiscum adpetas ire.*' Et cum hæc audissem, separavi me ab illis ut venirem ad tuguriolum ubi hospitabam: et in itinere cœpi orare; et antequam orationem consummarem, audivi unum ex illis fortiter exclamantem post me, '*Veni citò, quia vocant te homines isti:*' et statim ad illos reversus sum; et cœperunt mihi dicere, '*Veni, quia ex fide recipimus te; fac nobiscum amicitiam quo modo volueris.*' Et in illa die itaque repuli fugere, propter timorem DEI. Veruntamen, speravi ab illis ut mihi dicerunt, '*Veni, in fide* JESU CHRISTI;' quia *gentes* erant.

7. Et hoc obtinui cum illis: (et protinus navigavimus). Et *post triduum*, terram cepimus,* et viginti octo dies, per desertum iter fecimus:

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* These mariners were probably *Picts*, who returned to *Caledonia*, or the Highlands of *Scotland*; which were then, and are still, but thinly inhabited.—See *Essay*, p. 111.

et cibus defuit illis, et fames invaluit super eos. Et alia die, cœpit gubernator mihi dicere, '*Quid, Christiane, dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est: quare, ergo, non potes pro nobis orare, quia nos fame periclitamur? difficile est enim ut aliquem hominem unquam videamus.*' Ego enim evidenter dixi illis, '*Convertimini ex fide, et ex toto corde, ad* DOMINUM DEUM NOSTRUM, *quia nihil est illi impossibile;* [et orabo] *ut hodie cibum mittat vobis in viam vestram, usque dum satiamini: quia ubique abundat* ILLI.' Et adjuvante DEO, ita factum est: ecce *grex porcorum* in viâ ante oculos nostros apparuit; et multos ex illis interfecerunt; et ibi duas noctes manserunt, bene refecti; et carne eorum relevati sunt; quia multi ex illis defecerunt, et secus viam semivivi derelicti sunt. Et post hæc, *summas gratias egerunt* DEO: *Et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum.* (Et ex hoc die abundanter cibum habuerunt.) Etiam, *mel silvestre* invenerunt; et partem mihi obtulerunt: et unus ex illis dixit: '*Hoc immolatitium est; Deo gratias* [*nostro*]:' Exinde, *nihil gustavi.*

8. Eadem vero nocte, eram dormiens; et fortiter *temptavit me Satanas,* cujus memor ero, quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore. Et cecidit super me velut saxum ingens, et nihil membrorum meorum prævalens. Sed unde mihi venit, ignoro, in spiritum, ut *Heliam!* vocarem: et inter hæc,

vidi in cœlo solem oriri, et dum clamarem *Heliam! Heliam!* * [totis] viribus meis, ecce splendor solis decidit super me, et statim discussit a me omnem gravitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo Domino meo (subventus sum, et Spiritus ejus jam tunc) clamabat pro me: et spero quod sic erit in die pressuræ meæ; sicut in Evangelio inquit, (In illa die) Dominus (testatur) *Non vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis.* [Matt. x. 20.]

9. Et iterum post annos (non) multos, adhuc capturam dedi. Ea nocte prima, itaque, mansi cum illis: Responsum autem Divinum audivi, dicens mihi, '*Duos menses eris cum illis.*' Quod ita factum est: Nocte illa *sexagesima* liberavit me DOMINUS de manibus eorum. Ecce in itinere providit nobis cibum, et ignem, et siccitatem, [seu lignum siccum] quotidie, donec quarto decimo die pervenimus ad homines; (sicut superius insinuavi, [cum] vigenti et octo dies per desertum iter fecimus) et ea nocte qua pervenimus ad homines, de cibo vero nil habuimus.

10. Et iterum, post paucos annos, in *Britanniis* eram cum parentibus meis; qui me ut filium

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* *Patrick* seems, unconsciously perhaps, to imitate our Lord's exclamation in his agony on the cross, "*Eli, Eli,*" &c. which some of the by-standers mistook for *Elias.* Matt. xxvii. 46, 47.

susceperunt; et ex fide rogaverunt me ut vel modo, (ego post tantas tribulationes quas pertuli) nunquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet, vidi in visu, nocte, virum venientem, quasi de *Hiberione,* cui nomen VICTORICIUS,* cum epistulis innumerabilibus: et dedit mihi unam ex illis, et legi principium epistulæ, continentem '*Vox Hiberionacum.*' Et dum recitabam principium epistolæ, putabam ipso momento audire vocem ipsorum qui erant juxta sylvam *Focluti,* quæ est prope mare occidentale: et sic exclamaverunt, quasi ex uno ore, '*Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut venias, et adhuc ambules inter nos.*' Et valde compunctus sum corde, et amplius non potui legere: et sic expergefactus sum. DEO gratias, quia post annos plurimos præstitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem eorum.

Et alia nocte, nescio, DEUS scit, utrum *in* me, an *juxta* me, verbis peritissimis, quæ ego audivi et non potui intelligere, nisi ad postremum orationis, sic affatus est, *qui dedit animam pro te, ipse est qui loquitur in te.*† Et sic expergefactus sum gaudibundus.

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* VICTORICIUS appears to be used in the sense of VICTORIOSUS, "*Victorious;*" corresponding to *Fiech*'s appellation of VICTOR; denoting Jesus Christ.—See *Essay,* p. 148.

† This is the excellent reading of the *Cod. Armach.* The common, "*qui pro te animam posuit,*" is incomplete in sense,

Et iterum vidi *in me* IPSUM orantem : Et eram quasi *intra corpus meum:* et audivi [Ipsum] *super me,* hoc est, super *interiorem hominem,* et ibi *fortiter orabat gemitibus.* Et inter hæc stupebam, et admirabar, et cogitabam *quis* esset qui *in me* orabat. Sed ad postremum orationis sic effatus est, ut sit SPIRITUS [cognoscerm]. Et sic experrectus sum, et recordatus sum, apostolo [*Paulo*] dicente : ' SPIRITUS *adjuvat infirmitatem* nostræ orationis : *nam quid oremus sicut oportet, nescimus ;* sed IPSE SPIRITUS *postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus,*' quæ verbis exprimi non possunt. [Rom. viii. 26]. Et iterum, ' *Dominus advocatus noster, postulat pro nobis.*' [1 John ii. 1 ; Rom. viii. 34.]

11. Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis *senioribus* * meis, qui venerunt, et peccata mea, contra laboriosum *episcopatum* meum [reprobarunt] ; utique, in illo die fortiter impulsus sum ut caderem hic et in æternum. Sed DOMINUS pepercit *proselyto* et *peregrino,* propter nomen suum, benigne et valde mihi subvenit in hac conculcatione, quod in labem et in obprobrium non, male, deveni. Deum oro, ut non illis in peccatum reputetur [occasio] :† [Nam

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* " *Senioribus,*" these were, perhaps, the *Scoffers,* noticed § 4, or his *Gallican* brethren, the *Monks.*

† The common reading " *occasionum,*" is ungrammatical and unintelligible.

post annos *triginta* invenerunt me, et adversus verbum [locuti sunt] quod confessus fueram, antequam essem *Diaconus :* [ubi,] propter anxietatem, mœsto animo insinuavi *amicissimo meo,** quæ in pueritia mea, una die, gesseram, immo in una hora, quia nec dum prævalebam.—Nescio, DEUS scit, si habebam tunc *annos quindecim,* et DEUM vivum non credebam, neque ex infantia mea ; sed in morte et in incredulitate mansi, donec valde castigatus sum, et in veritate humiliatus sum, a fame et nuditate ; et [hoc] quotidie. —Contra, *Hiberionem* non *sponte* pergebam, donec prope *deficiebam.* Sed hoc potius bene mihi fuit ; quia ex hoc emendatus sum a DOMINO : et aptavit me, ut hodie essem [id] quod aliquando longe a me erat ; [nempe] *ut ego curas haberem, aut satagerem, pro salute aliorum ;* quando tunc etiam *de me ipso non cogitabam.*

12. Igitur in illo die, quo reprobatus sum a memoratis supra dictis [*senioribus*], (ad noctem illam) vidi in visu noctis [quod] scriptum erat contra faciem meam sine honore. Et inter hæc, audivi responsum (Divinum) † dicens mihi :

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* "*Amicissimo meo,*" probably *Germanus;* with whom he spent *sixteen* years.—*Essay,* p. 149.

† *Responsum Divinum,* &c. The obscurity of this *oracular* response seems to baffle all attempt at explanation. The original is probably corrupt.

'*Male vidimus faciem Dei signati nudato nomine, nec sic prædixit, male vidisti; sed male vidimus, quasi ibi se junxit, sicut dixit, 'Qui vos tangit, tangit pupillam oculi mei.'* [Zech. ii. 8]. Idcirco gratias ago ei qui me in omnibus confortavit, ut non me impediret a profectione [in *Hiberionem*] quam statueram; et de meo opere quod a CHRISTO didiceram. Sed magis ex eo sensi in me virtutem non parvam; et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus. Unde autem audenter dico, '*Non me reprehendit conscientia mea, hic, et in futurum.*' [Job xxvii. 6.]

13. Testem DEUM habeo quia non sum mentitus in [his] sermonibus quos ego retuli vobis. Sed magis doleo pro *amicissimo meo,* cur hoc meruimus audire tale responsum, cui ego credidi etiam animam. Et comperi ab aliquantis *fratribus* [*Gallicis*] ante defensionem illam,—quòd ego non interfui, nec in *Britanniis* eram—nec a me orietur ut et ille in mea absentia pro me pulsaret: etiam mihi ipse ore suo dixerat, '*Ecce dandus tu es ad gradum episcopatus*'—quòd non eram dignus. Sed unde venit illi postmodum, ut coram cunctis bonis et malis, et me publice dehonestaret, [ob id] quod ante, sponte et lætius indulserat? Et DOMINUS qui major omnibus est *—— satis dico.

* There is a chasm here, which cannot be supplied.

Sed tamen *non debeo abscondere donum Dei,* quod largitus est nobis in terra captivitatis meæ. Quia tunc fortiter *inquisivi Eum, et ibi inveni Illum,* et *servavit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus.* Sic credo, propter *inhabitantem* SPIRITUM EJUS; qui operatus est usque in hanc diem in me audenter rursus. Sed scit Deus, si mihi *homo* effatus fuisset, forsitan tacuissem propter charitatem CHRISTI. Unde ergo indefessam gratiam agam DEO MEO, qui me fidelè servavit in die temptationis meæ; ita ut hodie confidenter *efferam illi sacrificium, ut hostiam viventem, animam meam* CHRISTO DOMINO MEO, *qui me servavit ab omnibus angustiis meis:* ut et dicam, *Quis ego sum,* DOMINE, *vel quæ est vocatio mea, quia mihi tantam divinitatem cooperuisti? ita ut hodie in gentibus constanter exultarem, et magnificarem nomen tuum ubicunque fuero; necnon in secundis, sed etiam in pressuris:* ut quicquid mihi evenerit, sive bonum sive malum, æqualiter debeo suscipere, et DEO gratias semper agere, qui mihi ostendit, ut indubitabilem Eum sine fine crederem, et qui me audierit; [ita] ut ego inscius sim in novissimis diebus, hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum adire aggrederer; ita ut imitarer quospiam illos, quos ante DOMINUS jam olim prædixerat, *prænunciaturos* Evangelium suum in*

* The common reading "*prænunciaturum,*" as *O'Conor* observes, is ungrammatical; for which he judiciously substitutes

testimonium omnibus gentibus ante finem mundi. [Matt. xxiv. 14.] Quod ita ergo (ut vidimus itaque) suppletum est. Ecce testes sumus, quia Evangelium prædicatum est usque ubi nemo ultra est.

14. Longum autem est per singula enarrare laborem meum, vel per partes. Breviter dicam qualiter piissimus DEUS de servitute [me] sæpe liberavit; ex *duodecim periculis,* quibus periclitata est anima mea, præter *insidias multas:* et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo, nec et injuriam legentibus faciam. Sed dum Authorem habeo qui novit omnia antequam fiunt, (ut me pauperculu mpupillum) ideo tamen responsum Divinum creberrime admonuit, *Unde mihi hæc sapientia quæ in me non erat, qui nec 'numerum dierum,'* [Ps. xc. 12.] *noveram, neque* DEUM sapiebam? *Unde mihi, postmodum, donum tam magnum, tam salubre,* DEUM *agnoscere, vel diligere?*—sed ut *patriam* et *parentes* [non]* amitterem, et munera multa mihi offerebantur,

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prænunciaturos. The *Irish* transcribers of the *Confession* seem to have been ignorant of Latin.

* The insertion of *non,* is necessary to make sense of the passage: his parents were anxious that *Patrick* should *not quit* them and his country any more; as he mentioned before, § 10; and his mission to *Ireland* offended *some* of his *older brethren* (the *Gallican monks,*) as noticed § 11, 12.—*aliquantos* instead of *aliquantis,* the common reading.

cum fletu et lachrymis; et offendi *illos;* [scilicet parentes] necnon, contra votum, aliquantos de *senioribus meis.* Sed, gubernante DEO, nullo modo consensi, nec acquievi illis: non mea gratia [erat], sed DEUS, qui vicit in me, et restitit illis omnibus, ut *ego venirem ad Hibernas gentes evangelium prædicare* et ab incredulis contumelias preferre; ut haurirem opprobrium peregrinationis meæ, et persecutiones multas usque ad vincula; et ut darem ingenuitatem * meam pro utilitate aliorum:—*et si dignus fuero, promptus sum ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime pro nomine* EJUS; *et ibi opto impendere eam usque ad mortem, si* DOMINUS *mihi indulgeret:* quia valde debitor sum DEO, qui mihi tantam gratiam donavit, ut *populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur, et postmodum consummarentur;* et, ut *clerici* ubique illis ordinarentur, *ad plebem nuper venientem ad credulitatem,*† *quam sumpsit Dominus ab extremis terræ.* Sicut olim promiserat per prophetas: (*'Ad* TE *gentes venient ab extremis terræ,* et dicent) *Sicut falsa comparaverunt patres nostri idola, et non est utilitas in eis.'* [Jer. xvi. 19.]

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* *Ingenuitatem meam,* "my freedom, or liberty." *Patrick* says, '*ingenuus* fui secundum carnem.'—Epist. ad *Coroticum.*

† *Credulitatem—fidem Christianam,* "the belief or faith of Christ."

Et iterum, " *Posui Te lumen in Gentibus, ut sis in salutem, usque ad extremum terræ.*' [Isa. xlix. 6.] Et ibi volo expectare promissum Ipsius, qui utique nunquam fallit; sicut in Evangelio pollicetur: ' *Venient ab oriente et occidente,* (et) *recumbent cum Abraham, et Isaac, et Jacob:*' [Matt. viii. 11.] sicut credimus ab omni mundo venturi sunt credentes.

15. Idcirco oportet bene et diligenter piscari; sicut Dominus præmonet, dicens, ' *Venite post me, et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum.*' [Matt. iv. 19.] Et iterum dicit per prophetas, ' *Ecce Ego mittam piscatores et venatores multos, dicit* DOMINUS,' &c. [Jer. xvi. 16.] Unde autem valde oportebat retia nostra tendere, ita ut multitudo copiosa, et turba DEO caperetur; et ubique essent Clerici qui baptizarent populum indigentem et desiderantem: Sicut Dominus in Evangelio admonet, et docet; dicens, ' *Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos* in nomine PATRIS, *et* FILII, *et* SPIRITUS SANCTI; *(Docentes eos observare omnia quæcunque mandavi vobis: et ecce Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem seculi.')* [Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.] Et iterum dicit, ' *Euntes ergo in mundum universum prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ: qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit; qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.*' [Mark. xvi. 15, 16.]

Et iterum, '*Prædicabitur hoc evangelium regni in universo mundo, intestimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc veniet finis.*' [Matt. xxiv. 14.] Et iterum Dominus per prophetam prænuncians, inquit: '*Et erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem; et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiæ vestræ; et filii vestri visiones videbunt, et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt: Et quidem super servos meos, et super ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu meo, et prophetabunt.*' [Joel ii. 28, 29.] Et in *Hosea* dicit, '*Vocabo non plebem meam, plebem meam, et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam; et erit in loco ubi dictum est, non plebs mea vos, ibi* vocabuntur filii Dei vivi.*' [Hos. i. 10; ii. 23.]

16. Unde autem *Hiberione*, qui nunquam notitiam Dei habuerunt, nisi *idola* et immunda usque nunc coluerunt; quomodo, nuper facta est *plebs* DOMINI? et *filii* DEI nuncupantur?—Filii *Scottorum*, et filiæ regulorum, *Monachi*, et *virgines* CHRISTI esse videntur.—Et etiam una benedicta *Scotta* [*Brigida*]† genitiva nobilis, pulcherrima, adulta erat, quam ego baptizavi.

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* Instead of the common reading *ubi*, the context requires *ibi*; as contrasted with the preceding *ubi*.

† St. *Bridget* is here understood, and described; as remarked by *Mabillon, O'Conor, Rerum*, &c. Proleg. i. p. 106.

Et post paucos dies, unâ causâ venit ad nos [*Brigida*], insinuavit nobis [se] responsum [Divinum] accepisse a *Nuntio Dei;* et monuit etiam, ut esset *virgo Christi,* et ipsa Deo proximaret: Deo gratias. Sexta ab hac die optime ac avidissime *arripuit* illud: [ex eo] quod etiam omnes virgines Dei ita hoc faciunt, non *sponte patrum earum,* sed persecutionem patiuntur, et inproperia * falsa a parentibus suis: et nihilominus, plus augetur numerus, et de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt, nescimus numerum eorum, præter viduas et continentes. Sed et illæ maxime laborant, quæ *servitio* † detinentur; usque ad terrores et minas assiduc perseverant. Sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis meis, nam sive tantum [patiantur], tamen fortiter imitantur [cæteras].

Unde autem, etsi voluero, [possim] amittere illas? Et, ut pergere in *Britannias,* et libentissime, paratus eram, quasi ad *patriam* et *parentes;* non id solum, sed [paratus] eram, usque *Gallias,* visitare *fratres;* et, ut viderem faciem

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* *Inproperia,* an antiquated term, signifying "*nick-names, reproaches.*"—*Plautus.*

† He probably alludes to those of his *Irish* converts, who had been made captives by *Coroticus,* and his allies, the apostate *Irish* and *Picts.*

*Sanctorum** Domini Mei, [optabam]; scit Deus quod valde optabam: sed *alligatus Spiritu* [non possum omittere illas]; qui mihi protestatur, si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum me esse designat; et timeo perdere laborem quem inchoavi, [abeundo]. Et non *Ego*, [ita sentio], sed Christus Dominus; qui me imperavit, ut *venirem* [in *Hiberionem;* imperavit quoque, me futurum] *esse cum illis residuum ætatis meæ:* Si Dominus voluerit, et custodierit me ab omni via mala, ut non peccem coram Illo, [sicut sperare] † hoc debueram, sed memet ipsum non credo, quamdiu fuero 'in *hoc corpore mortis;*' [Rom. vii. 24.] quia fortis est [*Satanas*] qui cotidie ‡ nititur subvertere me a fide, et a proposita castitate, usque in finem vitæ meæ, Christo, Domino meo: Sed '*caro* inimica semper *trahit ad mortem,*' [Rom. viii. 6.] id est ad illecebras illicite perficiendas. Et '*scio ex parte,*' [1 Cor. xiii. 12.] quare vitam perfectam non egi, sicut et cæteri credentes. Sed *confiteor* Domino meo, et non mentior, ex quo cognovi Eum, a

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* *Sanctorum* scil. *Romanorum,* the *Romish* monks, with whom he resided in *Italy.*—See Epist. ad *Coroticum* and *Fiech*'s Poem, stanza 6.

† This insertion of "*sicut sperare,*" instead of the common reading, "*spero,*" seems to be necessary, to reconcile the text to sense and grammar.

‡ *Cotidie,* frequently, for *Quotidie.*

juventute mea crevit in me *amor* Dei, et *timor Ipsius*; [adeo] ut usque nunc, favente Domino, fidem servavi.

17. Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit; ego non silebo, neque abscondam *signa et mirabilia* quæ mihi a Domino ministrata sunt, ante multos annos quam fuerant quasi; '*qui novit omnia*,' etiam '*ante tempora secularia*.' [Rom. viii. 29; Matt. xxv. 34.] Unde autem debuero sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, qui sæpe indulsit insipientiæ meæ, et de loco non in uno quoque, ut non mihi vehementer irasceretur; qui adjutor datus sum [*Hibernis*] et *non cito adquievi*, secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat, et sicut Spiritus suggerebat. Et misertus est mihi Dominus in milia milium, quia vidit in me quod paratus eram, sed quod ego * pro his nesciebam de statu meo quid facerem: quia *multi hanc legationem prohibebant; et jam inter se ipsos, post tergum meum, narrabant et dicebant*, '*iste, quare se mittit in periculum inter hostes, qui* Dominum *non noverunt?*' non ut causâ malitiæ, sed, non sapiebat illis, sicut (ego ipse testor) intellexi, propter *rusticitatem meam*. Et *non cito* agnovi gratiam quæ tunc erat in me; nunc [autem] me capit, quod ante [capuisse] debueram. Nunc ergo, simpliciter insinuavi *fratribus*

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* *Ego*, here, seems preferable to the common reading *mihi*, which is ungrammatical.

et *conservis meis* [*Gallicis*]; qui mihi crediderunt. Propter quod, prædixi, et prædico, ad roborandam *fidem vestram:* Utinam et vos imitemini! majora et potiora faciatis. Hæc erit gloria mea: quia '*filius sapiens gloria patris est.*' [Prov. x. 1; xvii. 6.]

18. *Vos* scitis, et DEUS, *qualiter apud vos conversatus sum a juventute mea,* et fide veritatis, et in sinceritate cordis: etiam ad *gentes* illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis præstavi (præstiti) et præstabo. DEUS scit, [quod ego] *neminem illorum circumveni,* nec [circumvenire] cogito; propter DEUM, et *Ecclesiam* Ipsius: ne excitem *illis* et *nobis omnibus persecutionem,* et ne *per me blasphemaretur nomen* DOMINI: quia scriptum est, '*Væ homini, per quem nomen* DOMINI *blasphematur,* [Matt. xxvi. 24; Rom. ii. 20.] Nam etsi imperitus sum in omnibus, tamen conatus sum quippiam servare me etiam et *fratribus Christianis,* et *virginibus Christi,* et *mulieribus religiosis,* quæ mihi *ultronea munuscula* donabant, et super altare *reddebant* ex *ornamentis suis;* et *iterum reddebam illis:* et adversus me scandalizabantur, cur hoc faciebam: sed ego, propter *spem perennitatis,* ut me in omnibus caute propterea conservarem, ita ut me in aliquo titulo infideli non caperent, vel ministerium servitutis meæ; nec, etiam in minimo, *incredulis* locum darem infamare sive detrectare. Forte

autem,*—*quando baptizavi tot milia hominum*, speraverim ab aliquo illorum vel *dimidium scriptulæ?* † dicite mihi et reddam vobis. Aut, quando ordinavit DOMINUS *clericos*, per modicitatem meam et ministerium, [annon] gratis distribui illis? '*Si poposci ab aliquo illorum vel pretium calceamenti mei, dicite adversus me, et reddam vobis.*' [Gen. xiv. 23; 1 Sam. xii. 32.]

19. Magis ergo *impendi pro vobis* [quam] ut me caperet. Et inter vos, et ubique, pergebam, *causâ vestrâ*, [non *meâ*] in multis periculis etiam usque ad extremas partes, ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi nunquam aliquis pervenerat qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret, aut populum consummaret; donante DOMINO, diligenter et libentissime pro salute vestra, omnia generavi. Interim *præmia* dabam *Regibus*, propter quod dabam mercedem [fidei] filiis ipsorum, qui mecum ambulant; et [primò] nihil comprehenderunt me cum comitibus meis.‡—Et illa die avidissime *cupiebant interficere me, sed tempus nondum venerat:* Et omnia quæcunque nobis invenerunt, *rapuerunt*

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* There seems to be a chasm here, referring to the objection, that *Patrick* was influenced by *mercenary* motives to undertake the mission to *Ireland.*

† *Dimidium scriptulæ*, "the smallest remuneration."

‡ Here seems to be a chasm—that they *apprehended*, or seized him, afterwards, though not at first.

illa, et *meipsum ferro vinxerunt*. Et *quarto decimo die* absolvit me DOMINUS de potestate eorum, et *quicquid nostrum fuit, redditum est nobis*, propter DEUM, et necessarios *amicos* quos ante providimus. Vos autem experti estis quantum ego *erogavi* illis *(Brehonibus)*,* *qui judicabant* per omnes regiones quas frequentius visitabam. Censeo enim *non minimum pretium quindecim hominum* distribui illis, ita ut me fruamini, et ego semper vobis fruar in DEUM: non me pœnitet, nec satis est mihi; adhuc *impendo*, et super *impendam*: Potens est DOMINUS, ut det mihi postmodum ut *meipsum impendam pro animabus vestris*—Ecce testem DEUM invoco in animam meam, quia non mentior; neque ut sit occasio *adulationis* vel *avaritiæ* (scripsi) vobis, neque ut *honorem sperarem vestram*. Sufficit enim mihi honor qui non (videtur, sed corde creditur, *fidelis autem qui promisit*, nunquam) mentitur. Sed video jam in præsenti seculo me supra modum exaltatum a DOMINO: Et non, eram dignus neque talis ut hoc mihi præstaret, cum scio (certissime, quod mihi) melius convenit paupertas et calamitas quam deliciæ et divitiæ. Sed et

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* The *Brehons* were the Irish Judges, who dispensed justice, and imposed *fines*, which they called *eric*; and seems to be understood by *pretium quindecim hominum*, and *præmia regibus*, before.

'CHRISTUS DOMINUS *pauper fuit pro nobis,*' [2 Cor. viii. 9.]

20. Ego vero miser et infelix, et si opes voluero, jam non habeo; neque meipsum judico, quia *quotidie spero aut internecionem, aut circumveniri, aut redigi in servitutem,* sive occasionem cujuslibet. Sed nihil horum vereor, propter promissa cœlorum; quia jactavi meipsum in manus DEI OMNIPOTENTIS, qui ubique dominatur: sicut propheta dicit, '*Jacta cogitatum tuum in* DEUM, *et ipse te nutriet.*' [Psal. lv. 22; 1 Pet. v. 7.] Ecce nunc *commendo animam meam fidelissimo Domino meo,* pro quo, legatione fungor in ignobilitate mea. Sed quia '*personam non accipit,*' et elegit me ad hoc officium, ut unus sim de suis minimis minister: '*Unde autem retribuam illi, pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi?*' [Ps. cxvi. 12.] Sed quid dicam vel quid promittam Domino meo? Quia nihil video, nisi [quod] ipse mihi dederit: sed *scrutabor corda et renes,* quia satis et nimis cupio, et paratus eram ut donaret '*mihi bibere calicem ejus,*' sicut indulsit cæteris amantibus se. [Matt. xx. 23.]

21. Quapropter non contingat mihi a Deo meo, ut *unquam amittam plebem suam,* quam adquisivi in ultimis terræ. Oro Deum ut det mihi perseverantiam, et dignetur ut reddam [me] Illi testem fidelem, usque ad transitum meum, propter Deum meum. Et si aliquid boni unquam

imitatus sum, propter Deum meum quem diligo, peto illum det mihi, ut cum illis *proselitis*, et *captivis* pro nomine suo, *effundam sanguinem meum;* etsi ipse etiam carcam sepulturâ, aut miserrime cadaver per singula membra dividatur canibus, aut bestiis asperis, aut volucres cœli comederint illud! Certissime reor, si mihi hoc incurrisset, lucratus sum animam cum corpore meo; quia sine ulla dubitatione, in die illa, *resurgemus in claritate Solis,* [Daniel xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43.] hoc est, in gloria Christi Jesu Redemptoris nostri, *filii Dei vivi,* [Rom. ix. 26.], '*cohæredes Christi, et conformes futuræ imagini Ipsius:*' [Rom. viii. 17, 29]. Quoniam '*ex* Ipso et *per* Ipsum, et *in* Ipso, *regnaturi sumus.*' [Rom. xi. 36; 1 Cor. viii. 6; Rom. v. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 12; Rev. v. 12.] Nam *sol* iste quam videmus, Deo jubente, propter nos quotidie oriter; sed nunquam regnabit, neque permanebit splendor ejus: sed et *omnes qui adorant eum, in pœnam miseri male devenient. Nos autem credimus et adoramus* SOLEM VERUM CHRISTUM, [Mal. ix. 2.] qui nunquam interibit; neque [interibit] qui facit voluntatem Ipsius, sed manebit in æternum, quo modo et CHRISTUS manebit in æternum: *qui regnat cum* DEO PATRE OMNIPOTENTE, *et cum* SPIRITU SANCTO *ante secula, et nunc, et per omnia secula seculorum.* AMEN.

[P.S.] Ecce iterum iterumque breviter exponam verba *confessionis meæ* [§ 2.] Testificor in veritate, et in exultatione cordis, 'coram DEO et *sanctis Angelis* ejus,' [1 Tim. v. 21.] quia nunquam habui aliquam occasionem, præter Evangelium et promissa illius, ut unquam *redirem ad Gentem illam** [*Hibernam*], *unde—prius vix evaseram.*

Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum, quicunque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam, quam *Patricius* peccator, (indoctus silicet) *Hiberione* conscripsit;—ut nemo unquam dicat, quod *meâ ignorantiâ* [factum est], si aliquid pusillum ego vel demonstraverim secundum Dei placitum: sed arbitramini, et verissime credatur, quod *donum Dei* fuisset. Et hæc est *Confessio mea, antequam moriar.*

This curious and valuable "*Epistle of St. Patrick*" contains an admirable "*Confession*" *of Faith in the* HOLY TRINITY, drawn by the masterly hand of this illustrious *Father in Christ* (1 Cor. iv. 15.) with which it begins § 2, and ends § 21; and after an interesting account of

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* The common text, "ut unquam *redderem agentem illam*," is inexplicable. I have substituted *O'Conor*'s ingenious conjectural emendation; and dropped the superfluous word, *autem*, in the next clause

the early occurrences of his life, it details the pious and disinterested motives of his mission to *Ireland* in obedience to a heavenly call; and concludes with an animated vindication of his conduct throughout. It was addressed "*to his Irish*" converts, and chiefly to those of the *monastic* orders, which he founded in Ireland. It was also addressed (§ 4) to his former associates, the *Gallican Monks*, under *Germanus*, with whom he spent much time, during his long travels of *thirty* years, before he could prevail on himself to undertake this arduous mission, or overcome their remonstrances. Upon their account, we may presume, it was written in *Latin*, because they did not understand the Irish tongue. It is very obscure; partly on account of his long disuse of *Latin*, during his entire residence of sixty years in *Ireland*;* as may be collected from his persuasion of *Christ*'s command, that "he should *go* thither, and *spend the remainder of his life there*," (§ 16); and partly, from the ignorance of transcribers, unacquainted with *Latin*, who have in many places irretrievably injured the sense by their blunders. In some,

* *Joceline*, therefore, and his other monkish historians, seem to be mistaken, in their accounts of St. *Patrick*'s travels to *Rome*, &c. during his mission, to make a report thereof to the *Pope*, and to visit his *friends*.

however, I have ventured to supply *chasms*, by inserting explanatory words from *conjectural* criticism, derived from the consideration of the argument, and of the context; which I have included between *brackets* [ ], to distinguish them from Dr. *O'Conor*'s, which are marked, in his edition, by *hooks* ( ).

I have also noticed the numerous references to *scripture* throughout, with which our apostle was intimately conversant; quoting more, however, from the *spirit*, and general tenor of holy writ, than from the *letter*, either of the original, or of the *Greek* and *Latin* versions, current in his time: a latitude of quotation, which renders it difficult in some places to find out the particular passages he had in view; especially where he quotes from memory, and departs from the versions, and accommodates scripture, by way of illustration, to his argument:—as in Ecclus. vii. 15, "Hate not laborious work, and *husbandry*, which the Most High hath ordained;" instead of '*husbandry*, or rural labour,' (which is the meaning of "*rusticatio*," in the Latin Vulgate, and γεωργιαν, in the Greek text of the Septuagint version) he turns it into an apology for his own "*rusticity*," want of learning, or homeliness of speech, and writing, (§ 3). Some additional light also, I trust, is thrown on the obscurity of the Epistle, by a correcter punctuation throughout;

and by marking the emphatic words and passages in *italics*; and dividing it into sections, for greater ease of reference. But a perfect elucidation is not to be looked for at the present day. Enough, however, has, I hope, been done, to rescue the spotless character of our illustrious apostle from the fabulous misrepresentations of his superstitious admirers, as well as the objections of his sceptical scoffers; the former disgracing his mission, the latter denying even his existence.

IV.

FIECH'S IRISH POEM;

OR,

PANEGYRIC ON ST. PATRICK.

Republished by Dr. O'Conor, *Proleg.* I. *p.* 90.

From the very ancient Donegal MSS.

1.

Genair *Patraic* i *Nemthur,*
Asseadh adfet hi Scelaibh,
Macan se m-bliadhan decc,
An tan do breth fo dheraibh.

2.

Succat a ainm hi trubh rad :
Cid a athair ba fisse,
Mac *Calpuirn,* mic *Otidhe,*
Ho deochain *Odisse.*

3.

Bai se bliadhna hi foghnamh :
(Maise doine nis tomledh).
Batar ile *Ceathraighe,**
Ceathar trebhe dia forgnad.

---

* *Cothraighe, Colgan:* signifies, according to *Lynch,* a "*supporter* or protector;" and is so rendered by him, "They were all by him *supported;*" but the reading *Ceathraighe* is preferable, as immediately relating to *Ceathar,* "four."

4.

As best VICTOR fri gniadh
Milcon : ' teseadh for tonna.'
Forruibh a chois for sind leic,
Maraidh dia aes ni bronna.

5.

Do faidh tar *Ealpa* uile,
De mhuir, ba hamhra reatha,
Conid fargaibh la *German,*
An deas an deisciort *Leatha.*

6.

An innsibh mhara *Toirrian,*
Ainis indibh, ad rimhe,
Legais *Canoin* la *Gearman,*
Is eadh ad fiadhad line.

7.

Do cum n-*Erenn* dod fetis,
Aingil De hi fithisi
Menic it chithe ifisibh
Dos nicfed a rithisi.

8.

Ropo cobhair don d-*Erinn,*
Tichta *Patraic* for *Oclad;*
Ro clos cian son angarma
Macraidhi caille *Fochlad.*

9.

Gadhadar co tisseadh in noebh,
Ar a nimthisedh lethu,
Ar a tintarad o cloean
Tuatha h-Erenn do bheathu.

10.

Tuatha h-Erenn tairchantais:
'Dos nicfead sithlaith nua,
Meraid coti aniartaige:—
Bidh fas tir *Temhrah.*'

11.

A *Druidh* ar *Laoghaire*
Tichta *Patraic* in Cheiltis;
Ro firad ind aitsine,
Inna FLATHA as beirtis.

12.

Ba leir *Patraic* combebha,
Ba sabh innarba cloeni,
Ised tuargaib a eva
Suas de sech trebha doeani.

13.

Immuin, agas *Apocalyps,*
Na *tri coicath* nos canad,
Pritchad, batsed, arniged,
De molad DI' 'ni anad.

14.

Ni con gebed ruact sine
Do fess aidche h illinibh,
For nim consena a righe,
Pritcais fri De in dindaib.

15.

Hi *Slan, tuaith Benna Bairche,*
Nis Gebhedh tart na lia,
Canadh ced Psalm, cech naidche,
Do RIGH AINGEL fo gnia.

16.

Foidh for leic luim iaram
Ochus cuilche fliuch imme,
Ba coirthe a ritha dart,
Ni leic a corp i timme.

17.

Pritcadh soscela do cach,
Do gnith mor fearta i leathu,
Iccaid luscu, la trusca,
Mairbh dos fuisceadh do beathū.

18.

Padraic priotcais do *Scotu-ibh,*
Ro cheas mor seath illeathu,
Immi co tisat do brath,
In cach dos fuc do beathu.

19.

Meic *Eimhir*, meic *Erimoin*
Lotar hiule la *Cisel*,
Fos rolaic in t *Armchosal*,
Isin mor cathe n isel.

20.

Conda tanic in t *Apstal*
Do faith gid gaethe dene;
Pritchais tri fichte bliadhna
Croich CRIST do *tuatha-ibh Fene*.

21.

For *thuait h-Erenn* bai temhel,
Tuatha adhorta *Idhla*;
Ni craitshed in fhir DEACHT,
Inna TRINOITE fire.

22.

In *Ardmacha* fil righi,
Is cian do reraght *Emhain*;
Is cell mor *Dun-leith-glaisse*,
Nim dil cidh distrubh *Temhair*.

23.

Patraic dia m boi illobhra
Ad cobhra dol do *Mache*;
Do lluidh Aingel ara cheann,
For sed a meadhon laithe.

24.

Do faith fa dheas do VICTOR,
(Ba he arid ralastur.)
Lassais immuine imbai,
Asan teain ad galastar.

25.

As bert ordan de *Mache*
Do CRIST atlaighte buide,
Do chum nimhe mor raga,
Ro ratha duit do guide.

26.

Immon do roeghu it biu
Bid luirech didin do chach,
Immut illathiu mesa,
Re gait fir h-*Erend* do brath.

27.

Anais *Tasac* dia aes,
An tan do bert Comain do
As bert mos n icfead *Patraic*,
Briathra *Tasaigh* nir bu go.

28.

Samh aigis crich fri aidhi,
Ar na cate les oca,
Co chenn bliadhna bai soilsi :
Ba he sithlaithe foda.

29.

In cath fectha im *Bethoron,*
Fri *tuaith Canan* la mac *Nun,*
Assuith in grian fri *Gabaon*
Asseadh at fet Littre duin.

30.

Huair assuith la *Hiessue*
In grian, fri bas ina cloen
Ciasu threbrech be huisse
Soillse fri betsect na Noebh ?

31.

Clerich *Erend* dollotar
Dairi *Patraic* as cech set,
Son in ceatuil fos rolaic,
Con tuil cach uadhibh for set.

32.

Anim *Patraic* fria corp
Is iar saethaibh ro scarad,
Angeil De i cet aidhce
Arid fethis cen anadh.

33.

In tan con hualai *Patraic,*
Ad ella in *Patraic n aile,*
Is malle connucc aibhset,
Do chum h Isu mac *Maire.*

34.

Patraic cen airde nuabhair
Ba mor do maith ro meanuir,
Bith in gellsine meic *Maire*
Ba sen gaire in genuir.

This Poem is ascribed to *Fiech,* the disciple of St. *Patrick,* by *Colgan, Usher, Ware, Nicholson,* &c. and affords internal evidence of its high antiquity, in the old terms found therein peculiar to *Druidism,* which became obsolete after the introduction of Christianity, and its establishment by our Apostle. Such terms as *Cissel,* "the Devil," and *Armchosal,* "Satan," stanz. 19: *Noeb,* "a *saint,*" or rather a *prophet* or *diviner,* from the Hebrew *Nob,* "prophecy," or *Nabi,* a "*prophet,*" stanz. 9 and 30: *Fuisceadh,* he *awaked,* or *restored* to life, 17: *mos n icfead,* 27: *Samh aigis,* 28, &c. as remarked by *Colgan,* and Dr. *O'Conor,* Proleg. i. p. 89.

The text of the *Donegal* MSS. agrees nearly throughout with *Colgan*'s. By the help of the latter, a few *errata* in *O'Conor*'s edition are corrected: as *Cris* for *Christ,* 20; *glaisso* for *glaisse,* 22, &c.

The number of *Latin* words in this Poem are considerable, when disembarassed from their *Irish* orthography. *Anim,* anima; *corp,* corpus,

32: *bheatha,* vita, 9: *nua,* nova, 10: *De,* Deus, *son,* sonus, 8: *mhara,* mare; *righ Aingel,* rex Angelorum, 15: *righe,* regnum, 14: *luscu,* luscus, 17: *fhir Deacht,* vera Deitas, 21: *ordan,* ordo, 25: *teainad,* tenebant, 24: *cen,* sine, 32: *luirech,* lorica, 26: *tri,* tres, 20: *ceathar,* quatuor, 3: *se,* sex; *decc,* decem, 1, &c.

FIECHI CARMEN VETUS HIBERNICUM, &c.

Ex Codice vetustissimo Dungallense Latine reddita
a CAROLO O'CONOR, S.T.D.

1.

NATUS est *Patricius Nemturri,*
Ut refertur in narrationibus,
Juvenis fuit *sex* annorum *decem*
Quando ductus sub vincula.

2.

Succat ejus nomen in tribubus dictum,
Quis ejus pater, sit notum,
Filius fuit *Calpurnii,* filii *Otidi,*
Nepos diaconi *Odissi.*

3.

Fuit *sex* annis in servitute,
(Escis hominum [*Gentilium*] non vescebat)
Fuit ei nomen adoptivum *Ceathraige,*
Quatuor tribubus quia inserviit.

4.

Dixit VICTOR (ei) servo
Milconis, 'Iret trans fluctus,'
Posuit suos pedes supra saxum,
Manent exinde ejus vestigia.

5.

Profectus est trans *Alpes* omnes,
Trans maria; fuit felix expeditio;
Et remansit apud *Germanum,*
In Australi parti *australis Lethaniæ.**

6.

Insulis maris *Tyrrheni,*
Mansit in iis, ut dixi:
Legit Canones apud *Germanum:*
Et ita testantur Ecclesiæ.

7.

In *Hiberniam* profectus est,
Angelis Dei vocantibus,
Sæpe videbat in somniis,
Quod veniret iterum.

---

* *Colgan* renders *Leatha,* "*Latium,*" or the southern part part of *Italy* bordering on the *Tyrrhenian* sea; the isles of which were then inhabited by several orders of Monks; among whom *Patrick* read the Canon of Scripture with *Germanus;* before *Germanus* was made bishop of *Auxerre,* in *Armoric* Gaul, A.D. 418. *O'Conor* Proleg. ii. p. 118, who cites *Patrick* himself as declaring, that "he had traversed the *Gauls,* and *Italy,* and the *Isles* of the *Tyrrhenian* sea:" and there *O'Conor* concurs with *Colgan* in rendering the line, "In australi parte *Latii;*" which seems a better rendering than this here, "In australi parte *Australis Lethaniæ;*" supposing that *Lethania,*

8.

Fuit salutaris *Hiberniæ*
Adventus *Patricii* ad *Focladios,*
Audivit a longe sonum vocantium
Infantum masculorum Sylvæ *Fochlad.*

9.

Rogabant ut veniret Sanctus,
Quo cum discurrerent in dies,*
Quo abstraherentur ab erroribus
Populi Hiberniæ † ad vitam.

10.

Populi Hiberniæ prophetizabant,
' Venturos pacis dies novos,
Qui durarent in perpetuum:
Fore desertam regionem Temoriæ.'

---

beside *Armorica,* included western *Gaul,* as far as the see of *Auxerre* southward. Not. Proleg. i. 91; for as *Colgan* justly objects, Nisi *Germanus* dicatur degisse in eis, (insulis *Tyrrheni* maris) videtur hic *præposterus ordo.*

* In this, and the 18th stanza, *Colgan* has confounded the Irish term, *Leathu,* signifying "daily," with *Leatha,* "*Latium,* or *Italy;*" and thereby inextricably embarrassed the sense. This is one of the happiest emendations of *O'Conor,* "*Leathu, indies.*"

† The Irish phrase, *Tuatha h-Erenn,* seems to be mistranslated *populi Hiberniæ,* by *Colgan* and *O'Conor,* throughout

11.

Sui *Druidæ Laogario*
Adventum Patricii non celabant,
Verificata sunt vaticinia
De REGE quem vaticinabant.

12.

Erat clarus *Patricius* usque ad obitum,
Erat strenuus in profligandis erroribus;
Hinc exaltata sunt ejus acta
Supra desuper omnes tribus populorum.

13.

Hymnos, et *Apocalypsin*,
Tres quinquagenas (Psalmorum) indies canebat.
Prædicabat, baptizabat, orabat,
A laudibus DEI non cessabat.

14.

Non impediebat algor
Quin maneret nocte in aquis,
Ad cœli obtinendum regnum,
Prædicabat de DEO in collibus.

---

the Poem: *Tuatha* rather signifies "*Diviners.*" See *Essay*, p. 151—156. And in this specific sense it is distinguished from the generic, *doeani*, "peoples." Stanz. 12.

15.

In *Slana* populorum montis *Boirch*,
(Fonte) qui nunquam sentit siccitatem, vel diminutionem,
Canebat centum *Psalmos* omni nocte,
REGI ANGELORUM ut serviret.

16.

Dormiebat supra saxum nudum postea,
Et casula madida circumamictus,
Fuit cortex* ejus quietis pulvinar,
Non sinit corpus suum in superbiam.

17.

Prædicabat evangelium cuique,
Operabat ingentia miracula,
Sanabat *cæcos*, jejuniis
Mortuos resuscitabat ad vitam.

---

* *Colgan* renders *coirthe*, "saxum;" but it is evidently derived from the Latin *cortex*, "the bark of a tree;" and was so understood by Mabillon:—Centenis, per diem, totidemque per noctem, genuflexionibus, DEI majestatem adorabat; et pro plumis et lectisterniis, tantum *arborum corticibus* utebatur. Annal. T. 1. p. 150. Proleg. i. p. 93, note.

18.

Patricius prædicabat *Scotis,**
Passus est magnas tribulationes indies,
Ideo ut salvi fierent in æternum,
Omnes quibus annunciavit de vita.

19.

Filii *Emeri,* filii *Erimonii,*
Ierunt omnes cum *Diabolo,*
Etiam eos dejecit *Satanas*
In magna palearum ventilatione in infernum.

20.

Donec venit *Apostolus*
Ad eos docendos, licet spiritus maligni vehementes,
Prædicavit *ter viginti* annis,
Crucem CHRISTI populis *Feniorum.*†

21.

Supra populos *Hiberniæ* erant umbræ,
Populos adorantes *idola,*
Non credebant in veram DIVINITATEM,
In ejus TRINITATEM veram.

---

* The Irish *Scotu-ibh,* should rather be rendered *Scotigenis,* "the *Scotian* race;" for *ibh* signifies "a tribe." See *Appendix* I.

† The original, *Tuatha-ibh Fene,* should rather be rendered *Magis Fenigenarum,* "the Diviners of *Fenian,* or *Phenician* descent."

22.

In *Ardmacha* est imperium,
Et diuturnum nascenti juventuti *Eamaniæ*,
Et ecclesia celebris in *Duno* * —
Non mea voluntas quod deserta *Temoria*.

23.

Patricius quando fuit in lepra,
Ad medelam procedens *Ardmacham*,
Invit angelus coram eo;†
In via, in medio dici.

24.

Ivit ad austrum ad VICTOREM,
(Fuit is idem qui vocavit)
Exarsit *rubus* in quo erat,
Ibi miscuerunt colloquium.

25.

Dixit (Angelus) regimen *Ardmachæ*;
CHRISTO iteratas laudes, gratias:
Ad cœlos magna (tua) dilectio
Prosperam reddidit tibi tuam petitionem.

---

* *Colgan* has rightly preserved the original compound, *Dun-leithglas*, denoting the town of *Down-patrick*, *Ulster*, where our saint was buried; as distinguished from *Dunum* simply, which probably denoted the town of *Kilkenny*, in *Leinster*. See *Append.* No. I.

† *Lynch* renders this line, "An angel came upon *his head*," or appeared over him in the air. *Cean*, "head," is omitted by *Colgan* and *O'Conor*.

26.

Hymnus te * laudans; te vivente,
Erit lorica protectionis cuique;
Ibunt in die judicii,
Cum prudentibus in æternum, viri *Hiberniæ*.

27.

Remansit *Tassachus* post eum,
Quando ministravit *Communionem* ei,
Dixit quod non convalesceret *Patricius*,
Verba *Tassachi* non falsa.

28.

Sol posuit finem nocti,
Ita ut non deficeret lux eis,
Spatio unius anni fuit lux,
Fuit is pacis dies diuturnus.

29.

In prælio gesto in *Bethoron*,
Contra populum *Canaan*, per filium *Nun*,
Stetit Sol contra *Gabaon*;
Ut narrant literæ nobis.

---

* *Lynch*'s translation, "A *Hymn* sung by thee, while living;" alluding, probably, to Stanza 13; seems preferable to *Colgan* and *O'Conor*'s rendering here; both supposing that *Fiech* referred to *Sechnal*'s Hymn in praise of St. *Patrick*; which was later than *Fiech*'s time, and therefore could not be intended. Any other *Hymn* supposed to be written by St. *Patrick* (*Epist. Nuncupat.* p. 164.) would surely be irrelevant.

30.

Quoniam stetit pro *Joshua*,
Sol, ad cædendos peccatores,
Cur non trecies obedientior
Lux, propter beatitudinem *Sanctorum?*

31.

Clerici *Hiberniæ* confluerunt
Ad exequias *Patricii* ex omni loco,
Sonus concentus superni
Affecit somno quemque eorum.

32.

Anima *Patricii* a corpore,
Post ærumnas, separata est;
Angeli Dei prima nocte
Excubias fecerunt sine mora.

33.

Quando lugebant *Patricium*,
Ivit ad *Patricium alterum:*
Et simul cum gaudio abierunt
Ad Jesum, filium *Mariæ*.

34.

Pàtricius absque elevatione superbiæ,
Ingentia bona excogitavit:
Obiit in servitis Filii *Mariæ*,
Fuit [id] felix ejus nativitas.

This version, however, has great merit, in removing many obscurities in *Colgan's*, which rendered several parts of the poem unintelligible; partly by closer attention to the antiquated terms found therein; *armchosal*, "*Satanas*," 19, &c. and also to the derivations from the *Latin*, *illobra*, "in *lepra*," 23, &c.

TRANSLATION

OF

FIECH'S IRISH POEM;

OR,

PANEGYRIC ON ST. PATRICK.

Chiefly from O'Conor's *Latin Version.*

1.

Patrick was born at *Nemthur,*
As related in stories;
A youth of *sixteen* years
When carried into captivity.

2.

Succat, his name among his own tribes,
Who was his father be it known;
He was son of *Calphurnius* * and *Otide,*
Grandson of the Deacon *Odisse.*

---

* In his epistle to *Coroticus, Patrick* has recorded his father's family name: *Ingenuus* fui secundum carnem, *Decorione* patre nascor. His family name, latinized, *Decorio,* was changed to *Calphurnius,* at his ordination. There seems no ground for the supposed celibacy of *Calphurnius,* after he became a priest. This was a *monkish fiction.*

3.

He was *six* years in servitude,
(The food of the *Gentiles* he ate not),
His adoptive name was *Caithraghe*,
Because he served '*four*' tribes.

4.

VICTOR (CHRIST) said to the servant
Of *Milcho*: '*Depart over the waves*.'
HE set his feet upon the rock,
There, his footsteps still remain.

5.

He travelled over the whole *Alps*,
Over the seas; his journey was prosperous.
He resided with *Germanus*,
In the southern part of *Latium* * (*Italy*).

6.

In the islands of the *Tyrrhenian* sea,
In them he dwelt, as is related;
He read the *Canon* (of Scripture) with *Germanus*:
And so the churches (abroad) assert.

---

* The coasts of *Italy*, and the islands of the *Tuscan* sea, in *Jerome*'s time, swarmed with convents of *monks*. See *O'Conor*, Proleg. ii. p. 118. *Patrick* calls them the "*Roman Saints*," Confess. § 16.

7.

To *Erin* * he proceeded,
(Warned by) the ANGEL OF GOD, in visions; †
Often he saw in dreams,
That he ought to return thither.

8.

Most salutary to *Erin*
Was the coming of *Patrick* to *Foclad;*
He heard from afar the sound of invitation
From the sons of *Foclad* wood.

9.

They besought the Saint to come,
To discourse with them daily;
To draw away from their errors
The *Diviners of Erin* to life (eternal).

---

* I have retained the original proper name of *Ireland;* compounded of *Iar,* or *Er,* signifying "*western,*" and *In,* the contraction of *Innis,* "*Island.*"

† *Colgan*'s version, "Admonitus *Angelorum* apparitionibus," followed by *Lynch,* "Warned by *God's Angels* in apparitions;" seems preferable to *O'Conor*'s "*Angelis Dei* vocantibus:" for the Irish term, "*fithisi,*" is evidently the Latin *visionibus,* disguised by the orthography: thus, *fir,* in Irish, is *vir,* or *viri,* in Latin; as *Fir-bolgs,* "*Viri Belgæ.*" But Fiech's *Aingil De,* should rather be understood in the singular number, corresponding to VICTOR, in the preceding Stanza, 4.

10.

The *Diviners of Erin* predicted—
" New days of *peace* shall come,
Which shall endure for ever :
The country of *Temor* shall be deserted."

11.

His *Druids* from *Loagaire*
The coming of *Patrick* concealed not ;
The predictions were verified
Concerning the *Sovereign* whom they foretold.

12.

Patrick was renowned till his death,
He was zealous in abolishing errors ;
Hence, his acts were celebrated
Among all tribes of peoples.

13.

The *Hymns* and the *Apocalypse*,
The *three fifties* (Psalms) he chaunted daily ;
He preached, he baptized, he prayed,
From the praises of God he ceased not.

14.

The cold prevented him not,
From remaining at night in the rains ;
To obtain the kingdom (of Heaven),
He preached God on the hills

15.

In *Slane,* with the diviners of Mount *Barcha,*
Whose (river *Boyne)* is never dried nor diminished,
He chaunted a hundred *psalms* each night,
To serve the KING OF ANGELS.

16.

He slept upon the bare rock,
And a wet quilt over him.
The bark (of trees) was his pillow;
He indulged not his body in luxury.

17.

He preached the *Gospel* to all,
He worked *miracles* * daily;
He healed the *blind;* with fasting,
The *dead* he restored to life.

18.

Patrick preached to the *Scotian tribes;*
He underwent great labours daily;
That all may be saved for ever,
Each whom he guided to life.

---

* See Strictures on these miracles, Essay, p. 166.

19.

The sons of *Eber*,* and the sons of *Eremon*,
Were all going to the *Devil*;
Even *Satan* was casting them down to hell,
In the great winnowing fan.

20.

Until the *Apostle* arrived,
To preserve them from *evil spirits*:
He preached for *three-score* years [descent.
The cross of CHRIST, to the diviners of *Fenian*

21.

Upon the diviners of *Erin* was darkness,
The diviners adoring *idols*:
They believed not in the true DEITY,
In the true TRINITY.†

---

* The original *Emir*, is evidently a corruption of *Eber*, or *Heber*, the brother of *Eremon* or *Heremon*; these were the sons of *Milesius*, whose expedition from *Spain* to *Ireland* took place A.D. 1002. See Append. I.

† "St. *Patrick* is said to have made use of that species of trefoil, to which, in *Ireland*, we give the name of *Shamrock*, in explaining the doctrine of the TRINITY to the *Pagan Irish*. I do not know if there be any other reason for our adoption of this plant as a *national emblem*. HOPE, among the ancients, was "sometimes represented as a beautiful child, standing upon tiptoes, and a trefoil, or three-coloured grass, in her hand." *Moore's Irish Melodies*, No. V. p. 5.

22.

In *Ardmagh* is the seat of empire,
And long shall be, to the citizens of *Emania;*
And the great church, at *Down-patrick.*
I wish not that *Temor* be tribeless.

23.

When *Patrick* was in the *leprosy,*
Going for cure to *Ardmagh,*
An Angel came upon him,
On the way, in the middle of the day.

24.

He went southwards to VICTOR,
(He it was who called him)
The *bush* in which *he* was burnt;
Then they held conference.

25.

(VICTOR) said, "authority is given to *Ardmach;*
To CHRIST repeated praises, thanks;
(Thy) great love to heaven,
Hath prospered thy petition."

26.

"The *hymn* you chaunt, while living,
Shall be a breast-plate to each;
The men of *Erin,* in the day of judgment,
Shall be with the wise for ever."

27.

Tassac * remained after him:
When he gave him the *Communion,*
He said that *Patrick* would not recover;
The words of *Tassac* were not false.

28.

The *sun* dispelled the night,
So that the light forsook them not.
For the space of *a year* there was sun-light: †
That was the prolonged day.

29.

In the battle fought at *Bethoron,*
Against the diviners of *Canaan* by the son of *Nun,*
The *sun* stood still over *Gibeon,*
As Scripture relates to us.

---

* *Tassac* was originally a brazier and silversmith, who ornamented the celebrated crozier for St. *Patrick,* called the *Staff of Jesus.* "*Tassac* was afterwards a priest." *Lynch.*

† I have ventured to render *soilsi,* "*sunlight,*" supposing it to be derived from the Latin *Sol.* It occurs again, stanza 30. I suspect, however, that *samh,* in the first line of stanza 28, is the contraction of *samhin;* and if so, it denotes the *moon,* and not the sun. See Essay, p. 156.—And then, the rendering should be, "The *moon* kept back the night;" as she actually did by "standing still over the valley of *Ajalon.*" Joshua x. 12.

30.

Since the sun stood still for *Joshua,*
To slay the *sinners* (of *Canaan),*
Why should not the sun's light
Be *three hundred* times more obedient,
On account of the felicity of the *Saints?*

31.

The clergy of *Erin,* they flocked
To the wake* of *Patrick,* from every side;
The sound of celestial harmony
Set each of them to sleep.

32.

The soul of *Patrick* from his body
Was separated after his labours:
The Angels of God, the first night,
Kept watch, without delay.

---

* I have here followed *Lynch*'s rendering of *Dairi,* "to *wake;*" alluding to the *Irish* custom of *watching* the corpses the first night after death. The watching was poetically celebrated by the *Angels of God,* who separated his soul from the body, and carried it to "*Father Abraham,* in *Paradise;*" who took it directly to JESUS in heaven, (not to *purgatory),* according to *Fiech*'s doctrine.

33.

While they bewailed * *Patrick,* (in *Erin,*)
He went to the *other Patrick,* (father *Abraham,*)
And with joy they departed together,
To JESUS the Son of *Mary.*

34.

Patrick, not elated with pride,
Was the anthor of great blessings;
He died in the service of the Son of *Mary,*
His birth was auspicious.

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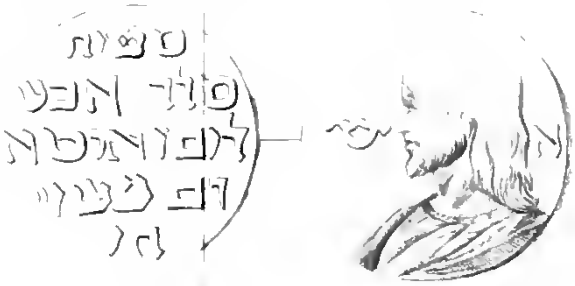
* The Irish *hualai,* resembles the Latin, *ululo,* to "howl," or "bewail."

I BRASS Found at BREIN GWYN in the Isle of ANGLESEY
Rowlands Mona Antiqua p 92 318 321

II SILVER In the possession of the REV T SYMONDS
Ensham Oxfordshire

III BRASS In the possession of Mr G CORLETT
found at FRIARS WALK near CORK Oct 1813



V.

ANTIQUE MEDALS OF OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR FOUND IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

Among the various antiquities found in the *British Isles* from time to time, certain silver and brass Medals of our blessed Saviour, with his profile, and inscriptions in the Hebrew character, are entitled to attention; as furnishing *collateral* evidence, if genuine antiques, of the early introduction of Christianity into the places in which they were found.

I. The first of the series, noticed in the fac-similes of Plate III, is that of a Brass Medal found in the Isle of *Anglesey*, about A.D. 1702, among the rubbish of an old circular entrenchment, called *Brein Gwyn*, in the middle of the township of *Tre'r Dryw:* of which the learned *Rowland* published a fac-simile in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 92; and an explanation of the inscription, in the Appendix, p. 318—321.

The Hebrew inscription appears to be this:

ישוע גבר: משיח הזה ואדם יחד

which may be thus literally translated:

"JESUS THE MIGHTY: THIS IS THE CHRIST AND THE MAN TOGETHER."

The first word in the inscription, ישיע *Jeshuah*, in Hebrew, corresponds to the Greek, *Ιησους*, '*Jesus*,' signifying a "*Saviour*;" as it is expressed in the *Syriac* version likewise, Luke i. 31; Matt. i. 21.

The second word, גבר *Gibŏr*, appears to be the contraction of גבור *Gibour*, signifying "*Mighty*; and referring probably to his Scriptural title, אל גבור, *Al Gibour*, "*Mighty God*," Isa. ix. 6.

The third word, משיח, *Messiah*, signifies the same as *ὁ χριστος*, "*The Anointed*," as *Jesus* was preeminently to be *king*, *priest*, and *prophet*.

The fourth, הזה, *Ha-zeh*, is the pronoun זה, *Zeh*, "*He*, or *This*," and the emphatic article ה, *He*, "*The*," prefixed; both connected with the preceding word, according to constant usage, לעם הזה, *le-am ha-zeh*, "*to this people*," Isa. vi. 9; העם הזה, *ha-am ha-zeh*, "*this people*," Isa. viii. 6; xxix. 13, &c.

The fifth, אבם, *Adam*, is applied to "*the first man*," the progenitor of the human race; and also, to *man* or *mankind* in general, descended from him, throughout the Old Testament: And in the New, is also applied empha-

tically, to "the *second man*," the LORD *from Heaven*;" so distinguished "from the first man *Adam*;" who became "a *quickening Spirit*" at his resurrection; for "as in *Adam* all die, even so in CHRIST shall all be made alive." 1 Cor. xv. 22. 45—49.

The sixth, יחד, *Jahad*, "*together*," intimates the union of the *divine* and *human* nature in JESUS CHRIST. Such appears to be a simpler and more natural interpretation of the term, than "*Mediator*," or "*Reconciler*," proposed in the *Appendix* to the *Mona Antiqua*, p. 318.*

II. The second Medal is of Silver, and more elegantly engraved, in the possession of the Rev. *Thomas Symonds*, of *Ensham, Oxfordshire*. It was given to him by a parishioner, on her death-bed; who always carried it about her, having rather a superstitious veneration for it. Where she got it, he knows not. Its fac-simile is given No. II. in the Plate.

The following appears to be the Hebrew inscription:

FRONT. א — ישו

REVERSE.

משיח מלך בא בשלום: ואר מאדם עשוי חי

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* The medal itself was unluckily lost, in the carriage from *Anglesey* to *Oxford*.

which may be thus literally translated:

FRONT.—"THE LORD JESU."

REVERSE.—"CHRIST THE KING, CAME IN PEACE: AND THE LIGHT FROM THE MAN WAS MADE LIFE."

The first letter of the inscription, א, *Aleph*, appears to be the contraction of אדון, *Adōn*, "*Lord;*" rendered necessary, by the space occupied by the image or profile; as the second word, ישו, *Jesu*, for the same reason, is curtailed of its last letter, expressed in the first medal.

The first word of the Reverse, מלך, *Melech*, "*the King*," was a usual epithet of Christ, as "*the King of Israel*," John i. 50; or "*the King of the Jews*," Matt. ii. 2; xxvii. 11; or specifically, "*Christ the King*," Luke xxii. 2; namely, the *spiritual*, as distinguished from the *temporal King, Herod*, Matt. ii. 1—6; or *Cæsar*, John xviii. 36.

The third and fourth words, בא בשלום, *Babeshalom*, "*came in peace*," are descriptive of his peculiar character as "*Prince of Peace*," Isa. ix. 6; who, in meek majesty, entered *Jerusalem* in humble triumph, like the *Judges* and *Prophets* of old, mounted upon an ass; fulfilling prophecy: "Tell ye the daughters of *Sion*, Behold, *thy King* cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, even a colt, the foal of an

ass," Zech. ix. 9. Matt. xxi. 1—9; who "made *peace* by the blood of his cross." Col. i. 20.

The fifth word, ואר, *ve ar*, appears to be compounded of the conjunction ו, "*and*," and אר, *ar*, the contraction of אור, *aur*, "*light*;" the middle letter, ו, *vau*, being dropt, for want of room for it in the line.

The sixth word, מאדם, *me adam*, "*from the man*," is descriptive of "the second *Adam*," as observed before, on the first medal; who, at his incarnation, was "the *light* of the world," John viii. 12; "the *true light*, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world;" as "*flesh*, or man; and dwelling among us. John i. 9. 14. Philip. ii. 6—8.

The seventh and eighth words, עשוי חי, *Ashui hai*, "was *made life*," aptly represent Him, in whom was *life*," John i. 4; "having *life* in himself," John v. 26; "the *resurrection* and the *life*; or the author of the *resurrection* to *life* eternal at the last day, to all them that believe in him, his name, or authority as *Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God*. John xi. 25; xx. 31. Phil. ii. 9—11.

III. The third Medal is of Brass, with a considerable alloy of silver, resembling the celebrated *Corinthian* brass, so much used in medals. This appears, from the clearness of its sound,

when struck against a table, and from its perfect preservation, though worn a good deal, after having been buried so long. It was accidentally found, last October, 1818, in digging the ridge of a potatoe garden, contiguous to "*Friars' walk,*" near the suburbs of the city of *Cork*, on the south side; where the name is the only memorial left of an ancient *monastery*, of which even the ruins have perished, being covered by the soil. Still, however, very extensive foundations were discovered not long since, near the spot where the medal was found, on opening a gravel pit; but this obstruction prevented the proprietor from proceeding; and the pit was filled up again. These foundations lie nearly midway between the ruins of two old abbeys; the one eastward, called *Red* Abbey, beyond which the city extends in every direction; the other westward, called *Gill* Abbey, near to which the suburbs extend. They are said to have belonged to the *Augustine* Friars; and are supposed to have been built by a Bishop *Gill*, about the sixth century. The *monastery*, which probably was older, from its more ruinous state, could not have been earlier than the fourth century, in the course of which monkery was imported into Europe from *Egypt*; and introduced by *Eusebius* of *Vercelli* into *Italy*, and by St. *Martin* of *Tours* into *Gaul*. The medal itself is in the possession of

Mr. *George Corlett*, of *Cork;* who, with a laudable zeal to promote the study of Sacred Antiquities, has caused a correct fac-simile of the medal to be engraved; and has widely circulated copies of it among the *literati* of *Great Britain* and *Ireland;* wishing to ascertain, as nearly as may be, the age and authenticity of the medal, and has recently published a pamphlet on the subject.

The inscription on it is the same as that on the second medal. And, fortunately, the second, which is more perfect, removes a doubt about two letters in this, which are either obliterated or imperfectly formed: It supplies the chasm of the fourth letter of the second line, in the *Cork* medal; by the letter ב, *beth;* and proves that the third letter of the fourth line, which has been mistaken for פ, *Pe,* is in reality ע, *Ain.*

Several varieties in the inscriptions of these medals, are noticed by the *German* antiquaries.

The learned *Surenhusius,* in his magnificent edition of the *Mischna,* with Rabbinical comments, 6 Tom. fol. Amsterdam, 1260, Tom. iii. p. 239, has given, from *Wagenseil,* the fac-simile of a medal of the fisst class, which he saw at *Vienna,* with this inscription on the reverse:

ישוע נצרי משיח: יהוה ואדם יחד

"JESUS OF NAZARETH THE CHRIST; THE LORD AND THE MAN TOGETHER."

This is a much more elegant engraving, and the letters better formed, than in the fac-simile of the *Anglesey* medal: and the inscription is probably more correct, because the meaning is fuller and plainer. Perhaps, by the ignorance of the engraver, the second word, נצרי, *Natsri*, might easily have been corrupted into גבר, *Gibor;* and the fourth word, יהוה, *Jahoh*, into הזה, *Hazeh;* dropping the small final and initial letter, י, *Jod*, in both words.

Waserus, de nummis Hebræorum, p. 62, has given the fac-simile of a medal of the second class, with the same inscription, in the Hebrew character; in which the contracted fifth word, ואר, *Ve-Ar*, is written fully, ואור, *Ve-Aur;* and to make room for the insertion of the letter ו, *Vau*, the two last letters of the seventh word, עשרי, are transferred from the fourth, to the last line; coming before the last word, חי.

He also cites *Theseus Ambrosius*, as having seen at Rome, in the pontificate of *Julius* II. A.D. 1503, and of *Leo* X. A.D. 1512, some brass medals with the same inscription in the *Samaritan* character. But that those in the *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* character were in more general circulation: *vulgo circumferuntur*.

Leusden also, in his *Philologus Hebræus*, Dissertat. xxvii. *de nummis et ponderibus Hebræorum*, p. 192, gives what he calls a "*Jew-*

ish-Christian Shekel," made by Jews converted to the Christian faith; of brass, in his own possession; in which the inscription in Hebrew, is the same on the reverse, as in the foregoing, of *Waserus;* with the exception of the first letter, א, *Aleph,* wanting, on the front.

He also notices a variation in some other medals, of the four last words of the reverse; instead of which, these three words are found, אלהים אדם עשוי, *" God was made man,"* dropping the last word, חי. And *Hottinger,* in his treatise *De Nummis Orientalium,* p. 149, remarks, that gold and silver medals were to be had in different places, with the same inscription.

Wagenseil, in his *Sota,* Tom. i. p. 579, gives another medal, with a variety of the same inscription; instead of אלהים, substituting אדם, a second time, and rendering, *" And man, by man, was made alive."* "This medal," says he, "is in the hands of many; and infants wear it about their neck." It was therefore evidently used as an amulet. And the *Anglesey* medal likewise appears to have been used for the same purpose; for there is a hole drilled through it, in the place marked in the fac-simile, with pricks, or dots.

From the multitude and variety of such medals, with inscriptions more or less perfect, current in *Germany* and *Spain, Wagenseil* rejects the whole of them as spurious, and of modern fabri-

cation; and not only the whole class relating to *Christ*, but also all coins, with or without Hebrew or Samaritan inscriptions, relating to *Abraham*, *Moses*, *David*, or *Solomon*, likewise. And he conjectures, that the medals of *Christ*, in particular, were fabricated by the *Jews* or Hebrew Christians, originally in *Palestine*, as a lucrative branch of traffic, for the accommodation of such pious pilgrims and curious travellers as went from Europe to visit the Holy Land, and naturally wished to bring home some relics, or memorials of their journey: than which, none were apt to be regarded with greater veneration, than supposed antique medals of our blessed Saviour, in the sacred Hebrew character, procured in the country in which he lived.* And the opinion of *Wagenseil* has been generally adopted by succeeding antiquaries, *Joubert*, *Pinkerton*, &c. Dr. *Barret*, the learned librarian, and Vice Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, conjectures that such fabrication might have taken place, in the

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* De horum nummorum origine sic conjicio. Apud *secula priora*, pietatis aut curiositatis impulsu, Christianorum multi *Palæstinam* petebant, loca quæ præsentia Servatoris consecravit, suis contemplaturi oculis. Et ipsorum hoc studium fuit, ut quædam, pro itineris memoriâ, domum referrent. Occasionem hinc sumpsere *Judæi*, qui in his partibus degunt, fingendi nummos ejusmodi, et ex illorum venditione faciendi quæstum.

dark ages, about the time of the establishment of image worship, in the second Council of *Nice*, A.D. 787. See his Letter to Dr. *Hales*, in the pamphlet published by Mr. *Corlett*, p. 52. And that it was not of a much earlier date, the learned Welsh antiquary *Roberts*, in a private letter to Dr. H. on the subject, collects, from the silence of the *Welsh* and *Irish* records, respecting any such medals, in the frequent pilgrimages to the Holy Land, in the fifth and sixth centuries, by the Britons and Irish, *Dewy*, or St. *David* of *Menevia*, *Padarn*, and *Teilo*, &c., who are said to have brought home from thence appropriate gifts (see the foregoing Essay, p. 114,); but no notice is any where taken, of such precious relics, as antique medals of our blessed Lord would necessarily be esteemed, had they been then and there in circulation. And Mr. *Roberts* further conjectures, that the fabrication and traffic of such, was most prevalent during the *Crusades* for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels, which lasted two centuries, from the close of the eleventh to the close of the thirteenth.

Admitting, however, the fabrication and traffic of spurious antique medals, with Hebrew or Samaritan inscriptions in several cases, the indiscriminate rejection of all such, by *Wagenseil* and his followers, seems unwarrantable. All counterfeits necessarily presuppose some genuine pro-

totypes; and there are silver "*shekels of Israel,*" found in the rubbish of *Jerusalem* and *Mount Sion,* of the age of *David,* if not earlier,* prior to the separation of the ten tribes; which are held in the highest veneration by the *Jews*; and are allowed to be genuine by the most skilful christian antiquaries, *Hottinger,* &c. and are exquisitely beautiful, in the engraving and elegance of the sacred character; of which the *Samaritan* was a ruder imitation. See fac-similes of a whole series of such coins in the learned Prolegomena of the first volume of the London Polyglott Bible, *Brian Waltoni Supplementum de Siclorum formis et inscriptione,* Pref. pp. 36—38; and *Proleg.* iii. *De antiquis Hebræorum Literis,* § 29—37; vindicating the genuineness of the sacred character impressed on them; which was afterwards superseded by the *Chaldee,* or present Hebrew character, after the Babylonish Captivity; at the same time *Walton* rejects the foregoing medals of our Lord, described by *Waserus,* "quos *fictos* et *recentiores* esse, nemo non videt." Proleg. iii. § 35, p. 20.

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* The second silver medal is marked with the sacred letters S. and D., signifying, according to *Morinus,* the *Shekel of David;* and the eighth is a *quarter-shekel,* corresponding to the fee of the fourth part of a shekel of silver, offered by Saul to the prophet Samuel. 1 Sam. ix. 8.

That all such medals, however, of our blessed Lord, are not to be condemned in the gross, as "spurious and more recent," in one general sweeping sentence of rejection, we have strong internal and presumptive evidence. Some of these medals are evidently superior in the elegance of their execution, and accuracy of their inscriptions, to others: and though we are warranted to reject the latter as counterfeits, the former may be genuine, as well as the *shekels of Israel.* Of the medals of the first class, the *Vienna* medal possesses superior elegance and accuracy of inscription; while the *Anglesey* medal is so deficient in both, that we may well doubt its genuineness, and antiquity; as far later than the early age assigned to it by *Rowlands,* about the time of the suppression of Druidism, or introduction of Christianity into Britain. And if we compare the medals of the second class, the Oxfordshire medal of Mr. *Symonds* shews much greater accuracy of inscription, than the Cork medal of Mr. *Corlett,* and is probably therefore of earlier date. That eminent Irish antiquary, Dr. *O'Conor,* to whom a fac-simile of the *Cork* medal was communicated, conjectured that it was of *Spanish* fabrication, and imported by some of the Spanish invaders of Ireland, or Hiberno-Spanish refugees, of Queen Elizabeth's reign. And upon inspection of the medal itself, with which I was

favoured by Mr. *Corlett,* the possessor lately, I am inclined, on second thoughts, to think that it was a ruder imitation of some more perfect medal, struck at a much earlier period.

That all these medals, indeed, were copied from some original prototype, which might have been coeval with the age of Christ himself, is rendered probable by the remarkable likeness that prevails throughout all of them, respecting the visage of Christ. And a traditional description of the person of Christ, is ascribed to *Publius Lentulus,* the predecessor of *Pilate* in the government of Judea, in a letter written to the Roman senate, and preserved by *Fabricius ;* which is so minutely circumstantial, that it might rather be attributed to *Pilate* himself, after our Lord's death. For *Lentulus* never was governor of Judea; nor was our Lord Jesus celebrated as a public character, until he entered upon his mission during *Pilate*'s government. But it is highly probable, that *Pilate* accompanied his account of Christ with some description of his person, in his *Acts* sent to *Tiberius,* which might have led to that emperor's proposal to the senate, for the deification of Christ, and his enrolment among the Roman gods. See the foregoing Essay, p. 100. And accordingly *Waserus,* in his shorter account of the same traditional description, says that it was sent by *Lentulus* to the Roman emperor *Tiberius ;* evidently confounding *Lentulus* with *Pilate.*

The shorter description furnished by *Waserus*, may be thus rendered.*

"The countenance (of CHRIST) was placid, handsome, and ruddy; so formed, however, as to inspire the beholders, not so much with love and reverence, as with terror. His locks were like the colour of a full-ripe filbert nut, [auburn,] straight, and entire down to the ears; from thence somewhat curled, down to the shoulders; but parted on the crown of the head, after the fashion of the *Nazarites:* his forehead was smooth and shining, his eyes blue and sparkling; his nose and mouth decorous and absolutely faultless; his beard, in colour like his locks, was forked and not long."

On this tradition, which might have been genuine, was evidently framed the other and more

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* *Waserus*, p. 63, states it thus: "Neque hoc silentio transmitti debet, viz. Imaginem Domini quâ nummo illo nostro exprimitur, ad eam descriptionem esse designatam quam *Lentulus*, Civis Romanus, et Judæorum olim præses, ad imperatorem *Tiberium* misisse vulgo perhibetur; quam ait vultu placido, venusto et subrubicundo fuisse; capillos habuisse colori bene maturæ nucis avellanæ similes; planos et integros ad aures usque; inde crispos nonnihil ad humeros usque; vertici vero divisos Nazarenorum ritu: fronte fuisse planâ et fulgidâ; oculis glaucis et micantibus; naso et ore decoro et prorsus αμυμῳ; barbâ capillis simili, haud prolixâ, ac bifidatâ."

elaborate description, recorded by *Fabricius*,* which may be thus rendered :—

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* *Fabricius*, in his Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, Hamburg, 1719, Vol. I. p. 298, after reciting two letters supposed to be written by *Pilate* to the emperor *Tiberius*, recites this, attributed to *Lentulus*, in the following terms :—

" Alius ille, *Lentulus* nomine, qui ante *Pilatum* administrationem illius urbis (*Hierosolymitanæ*) habuit, Senatui scripsit :— Hoc tempore vir apparuit, et adhuc vivit, vir præditus potentia magna, nomen ejus *Jesus Christus :* Homines eum *prophetam potentem* dicunt, Discipuli ejus *Filium Dei* vocant. Mortuos vivificat, et ægros ab omnis generis ægritudinibus et morbis sanat. Vir est altæ staturæ, proportionatæ, et conspectus vultus ejus cum severitate et plenus efficacia, ut spectatores amare eum possint et rursus timere. Pili capitis ejus vinei coloris, usque ad fundamentum aurium, sine radiatione et erecti, et a fundamento aurium usque ad humeros contorti ac lucidi, et ab humeris deorsum pendentes, bifido vertice dispositi in morem Nazarænorum. Frons plana et pura, facies ejus sine macula, quam rubor quidam temperatus ornat. Aspectus ejus ingenuus et gratus : Nasus ejus et os ejus nullo modo reprehensibilia : barba ejus multa et colore pilorum capitis bifurcata : Oculi ejus cœrulei et extreme lucidi. In reprehendendo et objurgando formidabilis, in docendo et exhortando blandæ linguæ et amabilis : gratia miranda vultus, cum gravitate. Semel eum ridentem nemo videt, sed flentem —— In loquendo ponderans et gravis, et parcus loquela. Pulcherrimus vultu inter homines satos."

For this curious extract, and others from *Hottinger*, *Waserus*, *Wagenseil*, &c. translated in the text, I am indebted to the learned Dr. *Barret*.

"At this time appeared a man, who is still living, a man endued with great power, his name *Jesus Christ*. The people say that he is a mighty prophet; his disciples call him the Son of God. He quickens the dead, and heals the sick of all manner of diseases and disorders. He is a man of tall stature, well proportioned, and the aspect of his countenance engaging, with severity, and full of expression, so as to induce the beholders to love, and then to fear him. The locks of his head are of the colour of a vine leaf, without curl, and straight to the bottom of his ears, but from thence down to his shoulders curled and glossy, and hanging below his shoulders. His hair on the crown of the head disparted, after the manner of the Nazarites. His forehead smooth and fair; his face without spot, and adorned with a certain tempered ruddiness. His aspect ingenuous and agreeable. His nose and his mouth in no wise reprehensible. His beard thick, and forked, of the same colour as the locks of his head. His eyes blue, and extremely bright. In reprehending and reproving, awful; in teaching and exhorting, courteous and engaging; a wonderful grace and gravity of countenance. None saw him laugh even once, but rather weep. In speaking, weighty and impressive, and sparing of speech: In countenance, the fairest among the children of men."

From this admirable description, which might be founded in the main, on truth, though embellished evidently in its present form, might have been framed some of the medals of our blessed Saviour. And from it, unquestionably, was drawn that inimitable picture by *Carlo Dolci*, representing our Saviour in the solemn act of blessing the cup at the Last Supper; so finely copied in needle-work, by Miss *Linwood;* which rivets the attention of every pious spectator, at her magnificent museum in *Leicester Square, London.*

FINIS.

PUBLICATIONS

BY THE AUTHOR.

1. *Sonorum Doctrina rationalis et experimentalis, ex Newtoni optimorumque Physicorum Scriptis, methodo elementariâ congesta. Cui præmittitur Disquisitio de Aere et Modificationibus Atmosphæræ.* 1778, Dublin, 4to. pp. 151.

This tract was chiefly designed to explain and vindicate Sir *Isaac Newton*'s abstruse Theory of Sounds, contained in his fundamental propositions, *Principia*, vol. ii. prop. 47, 48, 49, and to confirm it by the experiments of *Durham*, *Condamine*, &c.

2. *De Motibus Planetarum in Orbibus excentricis secundum Theoriam Newtonianam Dissertatio.* 1782, Dublin, 8vo. pp. 32.

This was designed to explain *Newton*'s fundamental proposition, *Principia*, lib. i. prop. 16, and its corollaries; and to deduce immediately from thence, his profound theory of the Revolutions of the Planets and Comets in Elliptical Orbits.

3. *Analysis Æquationum.* 1784, Dublin, 4to. pp. 248.

Designed as a Comment on *Newton*'s concise and difficult *Arithmetica Universalis*; including the principal improvements made in Algebra, since, by *De Moivre*, *Simpson*, *Saunderson*, *Hutton*, *Waring*, *Landon*, *Clairaut*, *Euler*, *D'Alembert*, *Bertrand*, *La Grange*, &c.

4. *Observations on the Political Influence of the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy.* Dublin and London, part. i. 1787; part ii. 1788, 8vo.

These pamphlets were occasioned by the controversy in Ireland, between Bishop *Woodward* and Doctor *Butler*, titular Archbishop of *Cashel*, Mr. *O'Leary*, &c.

5. *The Rights of Citizens.* Dublin, 1793, 8vo.

6. *The Scripture Doctrine of Political Government and Political Liberty.* Dublin, 1794, 8vo.

These were designed to answer *Paine's Rights of Man*, the popular clamour for *speedy* and *radical Reform of Parliament*, and the *revolutionary* doctrines.

7. *Observations on the present State of the Parochial Clergy of the Church of Ireland.* Dublin, 1794, 8vo.—Reprinted in London, by Baron *Maseres*, along with his *Moderate Reformer.*

In this pamphlet, the profound *political* wisdom of the institution of *Tythes* is vindicated, as a provision for the Clergy, rising or falling with the times, rendering them dependant on the Laity, and excluding them from political power; and the inadequacy, and ruinous consequences exposed, of the crude and abortive schemes of *Commutation* for Tythe hitherto devised or suggested.

8. *Irish Pursuits of Literature,* 1798 and 1799. Dublin, 8vo. Containing Translations of the classical Greek and Latin mottos and citations in that celebrated Satire, the *English Pursuits of Literature;* and reflexions on the political state of *Ireland*, during the former Rebellion of 1798.

9. *The Inspector.* London, 1799, 8vo. Chiefly designed to expose the leading errors of *French Philosophism*, and of the *Socinian* and *Unitarian* Schools.

10. *An Answer to Dr. Stokes' Essay on the Nature and Import of Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, in Ireland.* Dublin, 1800, 8vo.

Doctor S. endeavoured to shew a distinctness in the constitutions of the Established Churches of England and Ireland; that "the *Irish* Clergy received the Thirty-nine Articles merely as *Articles of Peace*, not like the *English* as *Articles of Faith or Opinion*." But this is proved to be unfounded, from the *Irish Canons* "for *establishing the Agreement of the Church of England* and *Ireland* in *the profession of the same Faith*," and for "avoiding *diversities of opinions*," &c. and, 2. From the *intention* of the framers, Lord *Strafford*, &c. which was evidently to unite the two Churches.

11. *Analysis Fluxionum*, with *Corrigenda* and *Addenda*. London, 1800, 4to.

This was designed to explain *Newton*'s concise and abstruse Theory of Fluxions, as stated in its original form, Principia, lib. ii. sect. ii. lemma 2, and its six cases; and to vindicate his title to the invention of Fluxions, from the misrepresentations of *La Grange* and the *Monthly Review*; and in the *Appendix*, to vindicate his Theory of *Ætherial Vibrations* from the charge of *Materialism*, brought against it by Professor *Robinson* of Edinburgh.

This tract was printed by Baron *Maseres*, and inserted also in the fifth volume of his *Scriptores Logarithmici*, p. 87—204; with the *Corrigenda*, &c. p. 149—859.

12. *National Judgments*. Dublin, 1803, 8vo. The substance of a *Fast Sermon*, on Isa. lx. 12, preached at *Killesandra*, Oct. 19, after the latter Rebellion of 1803.

13. *Methodism Inspected*. Dublin, 8vo. Part I. 1803; Part II. 1805.

Part I. was designed to correct the irregularities of the *Wesleian Methodist Missionaries*, who preached on horseback, with black caps, in fairs and markets; circulated printed libels against the Clergy of every denomination; and, though laymen, adminis-

tered the ordinances; and to expose their fanciful and dangerous doctrines of *immediate conversion, sinless perfection*, &c.

Part II.—To answer Mr. *Joseph Benson's Inspector of Methodism inspected, and Christian Observer observed*, in which he attempted to vindicate the Missionaries, &c.

14. *A Series of Essays on Sacred Criticism*, in twenty-one numbers, published in the *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine*, from February, 1803, to December, 1804, under the signature of *Inspector*.

15. *Ten Letters to Dr. Troy*, titular Archbishop of Dublin, in consequence of his *Pastoral Letter*, on the breaking out of the Rebellion of 1803, published in the *Antijacobin Review*, from July 1807, to the end of that year.——— A second edition of those Letters, 8vo. has been published (1813) by *Stockdale, Pall Mall.*

16. *Dissertations on the Prophecies expressing the Divine and Human Character of* OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. London, 1808, 8vo. Rivingtons.

17. *A New Analysis of Chronology.* London, 3 vols. 4to. Rivingtons; vol. i. 1809; vol. ii. 1811; vol. iii. 1814.

The first Volume contains an Explanation of the *New System of Chronology*, introduced therein; to which are added, 1. The Elements of *Technical Chronology*, and 2. The Elements of *Sacred Geography*, illustrated with Six Copper-plates.

The second Volume, consisting of two Books, each larger than the first Volume, contains a *Chronological History of the Old Testament, Apocrypha, and New Testament*, and of the whole range of *Prophecy*; immediately translated from the Original Scriptures.

The third Volume contains a *Chronological History of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Lydians, Egyptians*, &c. adjusted to *Sacred Chronology* throughout: and also a copious and general *Index* to the whole Work.

18. *A Synopsis of the Signs of the Times,* humbly attempted to be traced from *the Chronological Prophecies,* chiefly drawn from the *New Analysis,* with improvements. 8vo. 1817, Dublin, Grierson; London, Rivingtons.

19. *Faith in the Holy Trinity,* the *Doctrine of the Gospel;* and *Sabellian Unitarianism,* shewn to be *the God-denying Apostacy,* 2 vols. 8vo. 1818, Rivingtons.

20. *A Sermon on the Lord's Prayer.* 1818.

21. *Abridgment of a Correspondence between the Courts of Rome and Baden,* in the year 1817, respecting the appointment of Baron *Wessenberg,* Vicar Capitular of the Diocese of *Constance.* 1819.

22. *An Essay on the Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles,* and its Independence upon the *Church of Rome.* 1819.

Printed by R. Wilks, Chancery lane, London.

ERRATA.

ESSAY,

p. 7, l. 16, for "our," read—and.
p. 12, note, l. 17, for "Cotelirius Patris," r. Cotelerius Patres.
——— l. 2 à fine, for "εκκλπσιαν," r. εκκλησιαν.
p. 17, l. 14, 17, } for "*Octian*," r. Ostian.
p. 19, l. 3. }
p. 19, l. 5, for "*Illyrium*," r. *Illyricum*.
p. 25, l. 3, for "*Cæsaria*," r. *Cæsarea*.
p. 27, l. 17, for "what," r. whom.
p. 31, note, l. 8, for "such," r. used.
p. 32, l. 15, for "בור," r. צור.
p. 34, note, l. 18, for "for *stone*," r. שועא (*Shuah*).
p. 37, l. 6 à fine, for "*Juda-izers*," r. *Judaizers*.
p. 59, l. 12, for "1509," r. 1609.
p. 81, l. ult. for "republished," r. reprinted.
p. 95, l. 22, for "indpendent," r. independent.
p. 111, l. 7, for "*Historiegen des*," r. *Historie gens des*.
p. 114, l. 15, for "530," r. 430.
p. 132, l. 10, for "*stain*," r. *contagion*.
p. 141, l. 6, for "570," r. 470.
p. 147, l. 12, for "or," r. on.
p. 149, l. 7, dele "Southern" before "*Latium*."
p. 150, stanza 19, for "*Emir*," r. *Eber*.
p. 161, l. 22, for "a furlong," r. ten yards.
——— l. 23, for "northward," r. southward.
p. 179, l. 2, for "*Kiernan*," r. *Kieran*.
p. 182, note, l. 3, for "*Logidis*," r. *Lagidis*.
p. 190, stanza 31, for "funeral," r. wake.
——— ibid. for "source," r. sound.
p. 257, l. ult. for "1558," r. 1588.
p. 262, l. 19, for "1624," r. 1654.
p. 286, l. 3 à fine, insert,

(signed) *L. Cardinal Antonelli*, Prefect.
A. Archbishop of Arden, Secretary.

p. 301, l. 10, dele "not."

APPENDIX,

p. 15, l. 16, for "*Kildare*," r. *Kilkenny*.
p. 37, l. 8, for "*Loagaire*," r. *Laogaire*.
p. 42, l. 12, for "enquiry," r. enquire.
p. 57, l. 16, for "*velsciter*," r. *velociter*.
——— l. 13, for "videtar," r. videar.
p. 64, l. 7, for "cognoscerm," r. cognoscerem.
p. 67, l. 11, for "*efferam*," r. *offeram*.
p. 73, l. 3, for "omittere," r. amittere.
p. 79, l. 7 à fine, for "ix," r. iv.
p. 80, l. 12, for "silicet," r. scilicet.
p. 88, stanza 22, for "distrubh," r. ditrubh.
p. 89, stanza 24, for "ralastur," r. relastur.
p. 90, stanza 30, for "be," r. ba.
p. 91, l. 5 à fine for "*Christ*, r. *Crist*.
p. 93, l. 2, for "*reddita*," r. *redditum*.